AKWESASNE NOTES

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"WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS"

Volume 5
Number 4

Circulation:
57,000

Late Summer, 1973
(July issue)

News-stand price:
fifty cents
(forty-eight pages)

– photo by George Legrady

A TEN-PAGE SECTION ON NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTHWEST U.S.

. . . and reports from NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, THE YUKON, HAVASUPAI, COCONUCOS OF COLOMBIA, MICRONESIA, IROQUOIS, plus BOOK REVIEWS, POETRY, LETTERS, POSTER, AND NEWS OF INTEREST TO NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

HOW IT IS WITH US:

We are happy to tell you that our second class mailing permit has been granted – and we are grateful to all those who supported us in our quest, including the many senators and congressmen who wrote letters on our behalf, and particularly to Senator Edward Kennedy and his staff for their help in eliminating all the kinks.

Other than that, we haven't much to report. Our garden is doing well, everything is quiet and good, and much of our back work is getting all caught up. Book orders, in particular, were delayed during our hassles last winter, and that department is now getting back under control – most books are now being shipped on a same-day basis. Income from book sales helps pay our electric bill, groceries, and other necessary overhead expenses.

HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE AKWESASNE NOTES

. . . ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies. . . leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, or workplace, in an Indian center or tribal office. . . sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment: send us 35 cents for each copy actually sold for 50 cents. Timid: get a bundle of six copies for $2. Bolder ones: order a pack of 20 for $5 (prepaid). GET THE WORD OUT!

AKWESASNE NOTES

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) the Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga.

Winner: Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalism Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972).

Member: American Indian Press Association
Underground Press Syndicate

AKWESASNE NOTES is published eight times anually: January & February; April & May; July & August; October & November. It is published by Program in American Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo; co-publisher is D-Q University, Box 409, Davis, California.

Editorial and circulation offices are maintained on the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, near Hogansburg, New York, and on the north side of the reservation at Route 3, Cornwall, Ontario.

Second class postage paid at Hogansburg, New York 13622 and additional entry at Massena, New York 13662.

Postmaster: send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone: (518) 358-4697

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page – check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry – this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month, it is some Quebec addresses and those whose zip codes begin with "7" and some beginning with "8". ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US if you are red-labelled and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although we would appreciate any support you may wish to send at this special time.

TO SUBSCRIBE

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs over $4,000, and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc., will add another $1,000 – and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive.

Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have been received. And since we have no grants, no other sources of finances, we must depend on you, the readers for our survival

What's Happen On The Powwow Trail

JULY

24-28 Batoche, Saskatchewan – Back to Batoche '73 Days. One of the largest native gatherings in North America. Contact: Metis Society, 1935 Scarth St., Regina, Sask.

27-28 Cortland, New York: New York Iroquois Conference. State University of New York. Contact: Phil Tarbell, State Museum of New York, Albany, N.Y.

27-29 Wichita, Kansas: Mid-American All-Indian Days.

27-29 Capilano Reserve, nr. Vancouver, B.C. – 4th annual International Powwow War Dance Competitions.

27-29 Sheridan, Wyoming: All-American Indian Days.

29-5 Morley Alberta, Indian Ecumenical Conference. Contact: Nishnawbe Institue, 11½ Spadina Road, Toronto, Ontario M5R 2S9.

28-29 Ludington, Michigan Powwow (616) 757-3132.

27-29 Kansas City, Missouri: Indian Club Powwow, Benjamin Stables.

AUGUST

3-6 Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario: Indian Days with Powwow, Stage Show, and Rock Concert.

4 New Paltz, New York: Annual Powwow, New Paltz Middle School. Contact: Roy Black Bear, POBox 1100, New Paltz, New York 12561.

12 Mastic, Long Island, New York: Poospatuck Reservation Corn Festival. Contact: Poospatuck Presbyterian Church, Box 103, Mastic, N.Y. 11950.

18-19 Suquamish Indian Festival: Chief Seattle Days, Canoe Racing, Salmon Bake, story-telling. Contact: Seattle Indian Center, 119 Cherry, Seattle, Washington 98104.

23-26 Barefoot Park, Oklahoma: Arapaho Powwow.

18-24 Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan: Bahweting Ojibwa Ceremonial Powwow. Contact (906) 227-2241 or write 140 University Center NMU, Marquette, Michigan.

22-26 Poplar, Montana: 22nd annual Oil Discovery Celebration at American Legion Park. Patricia Bird, princess of the event, extends invitation "to all Indian people."

31-3 Colony, Oklahoma: Cheyenne/Arapaho Labor Day Celebration.

SEPTEMBER

1 Muskegon, Michigan: Native American Culture Day, by Grand River Band of the Ottawa Nation. McGraft Park.

AN APOLOGY

We wish to apologize to our brothers and sisters of the animal peoples for our thoughtless use of a phrase, "We are not beasts, and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . ." as a headline in our last issue. Our actions on behalf of natural peoples should not be at the expense of others in the Creation. We are grateful to Gayle Beach for restoring our consciousness that Native Americans includes not only human beings, but buffalo, coyotes, trees and rivers as well.

The Editors

MOVING? PLEASE SEND US YOUR CHANGE OF ADDRESS – IT SAVES US MONEY AND INSURES YOU WILL GET NOTES.
(be sure to include your old address and zip – and your new zip too.)

AKWESASNE NOTES STAFF consists of many people who help all over the world, but we are particularly grateful to Kristina Perdue (of Sweden), Klaus and Karl (of Germany), Pegi Dulin, Dorothy of the Inuit – visitors whose help made this issue possible. Then there are those whose lives revolve around NOTES: Kahontonni who writes letters, Connie of the mailing list, Doug and Rokwaho who do design and layout, Rarihokwats the editor, Karoniaktatie of poetry and such, Royal the shipper. And then there are those who come in to glue, tie, collate, bag, and cook during those endless days of mailing an issue – to everyone who makes this paper possible, we give thanks to each other.

ATTENTION PHOTOGRAPHERS:

A group of participants in the occupation of Wounded Knee – and associated events – are putting together a book in cooperation with AKWESASNE NOTES and its coverage. We want to work fast on it – and we want to invite any photographers, persons with tapes, and others who want to submit material to do so as soon as possible. Let us know what you have, or send it along. Your help will be very much valued.

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

lamps for desks
a ditto machine
photographic equipment
office supplies of all kinds

Travel With Us?

AKWESASNE NOTES / White Roots of Peace people carry out an extensive travel schedule each year for a variety of reasons:

– to conduct interviews, report on news, to investigate, and make contacts for this newspaper.

– to meet with reservation groups, urban groups, prison groups, student groups to promote Indian unity, strength in the Indian ways, and to give out information on Indian situations.

– to meet with college and church groups to develop support and understanding, and to raise funds for travel, publishing activities, and support of this newspaper.

We are interested in people who wish to participate in this travel program. We can use additional help of a variety of kinds:

– we need people to travel on each trip who are journalists, poets, photographers, artists, writers, to cover the news.

– we need spiritual leaders, speakers, singers, and others who wish to share their traditional knowledges with others to keep the Indian ways strong.

– we need people connected with colleges, church groups, and organizations who can arrange financial support and organize meetings in their areas.

– we need to hear from people who can offer a place to park and work on our next issue, people who are organizing Indian events, or people who want us to visit their areas to cover news or to meet with people.

The travel itinerary is flexible, but we are starting to organize around this pattern:

Early Autumn trip: September: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana. October: Idaho, Washington State, Oregon, northern California. November: northern Nevada, Utah, Nebraska, Iowa. (And places en route to and from Akwesasne to these locations.)

Late Autumn trip: November: Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida. December: Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky (and places en route to and from Akwesasne to these locations.)

Winter: January: Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, southern California, Texas, Arkansas (and places to and from Akwesasne en route.) Also February.

Spring: March: Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, New Jersey. April: New York City area, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont.

Late Spring Trip: May: Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota (and locations en route to Akwesasne.)

Summer Trip: Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and old Mexico. (and locations en route to and from Akwesasne.)

Further information is available by writing NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. date and identify all clippings.

send us your own materials – articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists – we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper – native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check out your school or public library. If they don't subscribe, suggest that they do so. If they can, encourage them to send a contribution – most send $5.

support the paper financially, if you are able. Particularly now during the summer months when people tend to forget.

Everything in this paper came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

— photo copyrighted 1973 by Barbara Lou Shafer

AFTER WOUNDED KNEE.....

OGLALA SUN DANCE RETURNS TO THE BLACK HILLS

A Sun Dance will be held August 3-11 at Crazy Horse Monument, 4½ miles north of Custer, South Dakota, Frank Fools Crow announced June 25. By coincidence, or otherwise, his decision was made public on the anniversary of the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

Fools Crow, who has directed the Sun Dance since 1929, said that the ceremony "will be held again where it originated, in the sacred Paha Sapa, the Black Hills."

Four days will be devoted to the sacred ritual with the following four to be devoted to pow-wows and the teaching of the Indian religion and way of life to younger native peoples.

The announcement was made with the approval of Korczak Ziolkowski, who is carving the world's largest mountain sculpture in the form of Crazy Horse, mounted on a horse.

"[Tribal leaders and holy men] asked for the use of this land because it is Crazy Horse land; it is in the Black Hills, and it is truly sacred," Korczak said. "I could not be true to myself — and my 34 years of labor would be a mockery — if I denied these fine elderly leaders." He said the participants in the ceremony would find water, grass, tipi poles, and buffalo.

Ziolkowski expressed concern that the 20,000 tourists a day who come to the monument would allow their curiosity to interfere with the event, which will be held at a 500-acre site over a ridge, out of view.

Matthew King, an Oglala interpreter, said that security guards would be posted in the traditional way to protect the ceremony from intruders. And Ziolkowski said that he truly hoped "that this small request of the Indians will be granted in the hearts of all white Americans: that these tribal leaders and holy men and their followers be left in peace to carry on their sacred work and then travel safely back to their reservations."

Ted Means of Porcupine, a member of the group planning the Sun Dance, announced that there will be no photographing, no recording, no alcohol, drugs, or firearms permitted.

King said that the return to the Black Hills also would signify the need "to go back to that period of time and try to live the life of those people who lived so close to the Great Spirit and to nature." He said Paha Sapa was sacred ground, and native people "should try to live according to the power that created the Black Hills."

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT SPIRIT WEEK

An American Indian Movement Spirit Week will be held at White Oak, Oklahoma, a small community near Vinita, starting July 25. Members of AIM chapters and other supporters from throughout North America are expected to attend — some estimates say as many as 4,000 people might be there.

Notice of the meeting came late along the mocassin telegraph, as difficulties in finding a suitable site and a date arose from the occupation of Wounded Knee and the legal aftermath.

The AIM Spirit Week indicated that the movement is alive and well despite the arrest of most of the top leadership, and widespread criticism from liberal and right-wing groups.

"The American Indian Movement is just that — a movement," Russell Means told newsmen. "Regardless of what the federal government thinks, it is not true that if they kill the leaders, they kill the movement."

People like Dick Wilson disagree — "AIM is dead," he says. "It died right here on the Pine Ridge Reservation."

AIM was formed in the summer of 1968 in Minneapolis after Clyde Bellecourt and Dennis Banks, then in prison, decided to form an action group that would allow native people to turn their frustrations into positive moves, instead of self-destructive ones. It grew slowly, although unspectacularly, until early 1972, when a caravan was planned to enter Gordon, Nebraska, in protest to the handling of the death of Raymond Yellow Thunder, 51, at the hands of a group of young whites. AIM was also one of the groups participating in the Trail of Broken Treaties in Washington in November, 1972. Then, after a series of confrontations in Nebraska and South Dakota, came Wounded Knee's occupation lasting 71 days.

"AIM is not through — it will be available to help Indians in trouble," Means says. Actually, he adds, "what needs to be saved is the white people."

After the session with the law enforcement officials, Stan Holder, security chief for AIM, said he was "extremely pleased" with the amiable attitude of the law officers. And Capt. Don Mentzer, ranking Oklahoma Highway Patrol officer in northeast Oklahoma, said he didn't foresee any problems that couldn't be worked out. However, he turned down the request that an AIM member ride in each patrol car, citing OHP policy that prohibits unbonded officers in patrols. The meeting was closed to newsmen at Holder's request.

Holder drew from the officers the promise that they would not come to the convention grounds unless they were called in. Police Chief Robert Thompson of nearby Vinita said he would allow an AIM patrol on Vinita streets, and AIM members would be at both police station and sheriff's office.

Other cooperation came from Craig County Commissioners, who furnished mowers and trucks to clear high grass from portions of the farm where the meeting will be held.

"We're helping them like we would help any neighbors — the work is only going to take about a day," said commissioner O.B. Williams.

Holder told newsmen that the AIM members will spend most of their time praying to the Great Spirit to decide which course AIM will take if the government does not meet its demands.

"This is a peaceful community, and we want to keep it that way," John Thomas said. "We want no harassment. We want to come in, take care of our business, and go home. We certainly aren't interested in ammunition and weapons." He said security officials would see that there "will be no drinking, no dope. Anyone who creates a problem will be sent home."

One of the items of business would be conferences of over 50 defense attorneys involved in current cases with AIM members, mostly arising out of the occupation of Wounded Knee. Thomas said they also would discuss government scandals involving Indian lands and problems that would "make Watergate look like a traffic ticket."

The convention had been planned for Pawnee, but objections of townspeople became so vehement it was certain that most of the time at the meeting would be spent dealing with hassles, and little would be spent on business.

Our Response To U.S. Opinions

"IN PLAIN, SIMPLE ENGLISH."

– photo by Camilla Smith

Mr. Leonard Garment
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

We have received your letter dated May 29, 1973, and it has caused great anger and dismay among the members of the Teton Sioux Nation and other allied Indian Nations. As you requested, we are responding in writing to each of your opinions and to the enclosed "President's Message to the Congress" since your office places so much importance upon it.

We, who were gathered at Fools Crow's Camp to evaluate your letter, were insulted by the content of the letter. Evidently, those who represented you during the May 17-18 meeting did not get the message as we presented it. Likewise, they must have thought they were dealing with ignorant Indians who knew nothing about the facts of law as they exist between the United States and the Indian nations.

Whoever prepared this letter for you insulted our intelligence and exposed the kind of thoughts which must have run through your minds during these meetings. We are completely familiar with the matters contained in your letter and congratulate the President for his efforts. However, while some of the matters referred to might ease the burden for Indians, they in no way settle the questions we are deeply concerned with.

As you requested, we are answering your letter with a hope that a written message will reach you through your ordinary senses and convey this plain message to your heart and soul without one single thought about politics of money.

Establishing a Treaty Commission

We are well aware of Title 25, Section 71, of the United States Code and its implications [stating that the U.S. will no longer make treaties with Indian Nations.]. But we remind you that we are nevertheless a treaty-making nation. We have made many treaties with the United States . . . and we fully expect you to honor your obligations under such treaties. The language in the section which states "but no obligations or any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March 3, 1871, shall hereby be invalidated or impaired," is still in full force and effect. We want to make it perfectly clear that *we are not asking for the negotiation of new treaties* or the changing of any existing treaty; *we are merely asking that the treaties that already exist be enforced.*

"If President Nixon truly desires to institute a policy of self-determination, he has the necessary Congressional legislation to legally commission a Presidential Treaty Commission."

There is a need for a treaty commission. Unfortunately, through the years, the Federal Government has almost totally ignored the rights of Indians under Indian treaties. But Indian treaties are not antiquated documents of the past – they are now as they were at the time they were ratified, the supreme law of the land.

Turner v. American Baptist Missionary Union, 24 Fed. Cas. No. 14251 (C.C. Mich. 1852). If President Nixon truly desires to institute a policy of self-determination, he has the necessary Congressional legislation to legally commission a Presidential Treaty Commission. That authority can even be found within the last sentence of 25 U.S.C. section 71, the same statute you are quoting from. There are many reasons why a treaty commission is needed. We will cite you a few examples:

First of all, the findings and recommendations of such a commission would have great weight with the Congress in repealing or amending statutes enacted since 1871 which conflict with and take away original sovereignty in every area.

"Treaties made by the United States with Indian tribes are not to be interpreted narrowly, but are to be construed in the sense in which naturally the Indians would understand them in view of the fact that the United States seeks no advantage for itself in such treaties and friendly and dependent Indians are likely to accept without discriminating scrutiny the terms proposed." (U.S. v. Shoshone Tribe of Indians of Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, 1938, 58 S. Ct. 794, 304 U.S. III, 82 L. Ed. 1213. Also, see U.S. ex rel Marks v. Brooks, D.C. Ind. 1940, 32 F. Supp. 422.)

Also, "Doubtful provisions in treaties and statutes should be resolved in favor of Indians as wards of the government." U.S. v. Nez Perce County C.C.A. Idaho 1938, 95 F 2d 232, rehearing denied 95 F. 2d 238. See also U.S. v. Lewis County, 95 F 2d 236, rehearing denied 95 F. 2d 238.

Also, "Treaties and agreements with Indian tribes should be liberally interpreted in favor of the Indians." Choctaw Nation v. U.S., 1954, 121 F. Supp. 206, 128 Ct. Cl. 195. . . .

Also, "Indian treaties are the supreme law of the land and stand on an equal footing legally with those treaties made by the United States with foreign nations." American Baptist Missionary Union v. Turner case, 24 Fed. Cas. No. 14251, 1852.

Also, "A treaty is paramount law and it is the duty of Congress to comply with terms of a treaty." Kendall v. United States 1 C. Cls. 261 (1865). . .

Also, "Congress can abrogate a treaty but not destroy rights which have been acquired under it." Choate v. Trapp, 224 U.S. 665 (1912). (Nevertheless, the Federal Government has continually ignored and destroyed such rights.)

Also, "All rights specifically granted to Indians in a treaty are reserved to them." Skeem v. United States, 273 Fed. 93 (1921).

The [U.S.] Government almost always contends that although morally wrong, the U.S. can break a treaty and that once it is broken, nothing can be done about it. But this is not true, nor is it good law. The violation of a treaty in one article does not negate the remainder of the treaty or the other articles. It is because of the violation of some of these "other articles" that we want a Presidential Treaty Commission to examine and recommend remedies.

"We, like nearly every Indian in this country have harbored a deep distrust for the United States Government because they have failed to adhere to the treaties in spite of the many court rulings."

Despite all of these rules of construction enunciated by various courts, to our knowledge, not one treaty has ever been construed the way the Indians understood it. The judge usually ends up writing his decision the way he thinks the Indians understood it and not the way the Indians themselves in fact understand it. A Presidential Treaty Commission could therefore examine treaty provisions to determine how Indians understood them and how they are presently being violated. There should be no bickering about what an article means. It means, within reason, what we Indians feel it means.

Also, although the main purpose of most treaties was to cede more land to the whiteman, . . . rights of sovereignty and self-government remained since not expressly given up. Later unilateral action by the Congress and the States cannot destroy the natural elements of sovereignty which include but are not limited to self-government, minerals, water, and hunting and fishing rights in the western half of South Dakota.

A Treaty Commission will necessarily have to have the support of the Congress, so we would enjoy supporting the President on a national scale to press for such legislation to finance and establish the Commission. This would be true whether the Treaty Commission was created by the President or the Congress.

We, like nearly every Indian in this country, have harbored a deep distrust for the United States Government because it has failed to adhere to the treaties in spite of the many court rulings. Our trust can only be restored by having the United States set up a Treaty Commission that will deal with Indian nations and tribes with honor and good faith.

As we stated earlier, we seek no changes in our treaties; however we do seek implementation of the existing treaties as well as all of the unwritten factors which are of the utmost importance in view of the financial and economic factors that society values so highly. One of our major concerns today is the effect present policy has upon our people which is leading to the destruction of the tribes through financial indebtedness. This is being done without the people having any control or voice in decision-making processes because the tribal council system is being protected by the BIA bureaucrats who see that this is the real method to destroy the Indian tribes. Starvation could not bring the Indian people to their knees, but mortgaging tribal lands which will allow the Federal Government to dispose of the mortgaged lands legally while the tribal members stand by helplessly will do so. Again, we must emphasize that we do have brains and fully understand why the Nixon Administration supports the tribal chairmen even while many of them commit criminal acts against their own people.

We believe that the Committees of Congress would go along with the establishing of a Treaty Commission and we will certainly make our wishes known in the upcoming hearings. However, we cannot impress upon you too strongly that we think the President must first recommend that such a commission be established to fulfill the obligations of the United States, once and for all, with the Indian tribes and nations.

Protecting Mineral and Water Rights

We feel that the Federal Government has assumed too much in interpreting some treaties. For example, many treaties do not mention mineral rights in land cessions. Yet the Federal Government has assumed that mineral rights are also ceded. Could not many mineral rights be reserved to the Indians in accordance with the opinion cited in the Skeem case cited earlier?

We realize that the Secretary of the Interior has established a special office of Indian Water Rights and we are thankful that the United States finally recognizes the need for such an administrative office. However, we are also of the opinion that the administration submitted to Congress falls far too short of eliminating the conflict of interest that has always existed. It is commendable of this administration to even recognize this fact. Nevertheless, we would oppose any kind of trust counsel in which the President appoints three men to act to protect Indian interest, even if two of them were Indians. We make this statement to emphasize that we have Indians who are all too willing to sell out their brothers for money and could be chosen just for the purpose of destroying the mineral and water rights of Indian tribes. A very good example of this is the past Commissioner and the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Just because a person is genetically an Indian in no way guarantees that Indian interests are going to be protected. One needs only to look deeply at the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, an instrument of this administration, to find that some Indian leaders elected by their people will look the other way while the very Indians they are elected to serve and protect are murdered and robbed. And they are also protected from higher up in the federal bureaucracy while they rob their own people with the aid of the local federal officials.

If a trust council were established with the Indians choosing the members of that Trust Counsel, it could act as a trustee while working with the Treaty Commission. We will never stand by again while the government and others rob us with specially-enacted laws because we are determined to control our own destiny to the fullest extent.

A Referendum Vote

The Tribal Constitution and By-Laws have a mandatory residency requirement because (1) we need only informed voters in an election, and (2) someday off-reservation members may out-number residents and such members may want to dissolve the tribe, e.g., the Colvilles, Flatheads. It is therefore in the best interest

of the tribe to have such a residency requirement to keep off-reservation members from dissolving it. But the Secretary of the Interior has arbitrarily suspended the one-year residency requirement of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Constitution in his continuing efforts through the BIA to suppress the real Oglala Sioux People and keep a legal petition with sufficient names from being acted upon.

You are again telling us what to do after you have proclaimed a policy of "self-determination." If you are going to enforce the illegal actions of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council and the Secretary against the wishes of those who want a change, we do not have self-government — we have a dictatorship!

You are perfectly correct when you stated that in most cases, only the tribal council can initiate amendments. But no matter how asinine these amendments are, the Secretary of the Interior will approve them. For example, the Secretary approved a referendum for the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Tribe of North Dakota which provided for no elections. Since no one dared oppose the tribal council for fear of their lives, the people of the tribe passed the referendum and the Secretary of the Interior approved the amendment. Two years later, the Bureau of Indian Affairs found out that the life-time president of that tribe would not abide by their arbitrary paternalistic decision, so the BIA took over again and forced another referendum to rescind the amendment.

This is not an isolated case. Take the amendments that are now about to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior for the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. In that case, the Secretary of Interior and the BIA are both breaking their necks to approve and hold a federally-controlled secretarial election before the end of July simply because that is what one of their key men, namely Rev. Webster Two Hawk, desires. The amendments are so senseless that even your office could not tell what these proposed amendments meant in the minutes of the tribal council meeting. Besides, they are illegal because they were not adopted by a three-fourths vote of the tribal council on April 30, 1973, as required by the constitution of that tribe.

"Our forefathers died protecting this land and we would be cowards if we continue to allow the federal, state, and local government to continue racial and cultural genocide against us . . . "

We hope the Nixon Administration is now aware of the problems which confront nearly every tribe in this nation so it can immediately propose to Congress proper legislation that will correct this defective, undemocratic form of tribal government. Congress made a beginning when it enacted the Indian Civil Rights provisions, but it failed to fill in all the legal gray areas that presently allow both the federal and tribal officials to fleece the Indian people and jail Indians who stand up for their rights.

We are saying in plain and simple English language that if the President truly wants "self-determination", then the right direction to that goal is to first show us that self-determination means that each tribe has the right to choose its own form of government in place of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which was forced upon us as a tool of those who desired to separate the Indian from his culture and land.

If a tribe chooses to retain this undemocratic type of government, then let that be their fate, but they should have a choice in the name of self-determination. On this premise we demand that a referendum vote to revoke tribal constitutions and bylaws of all Indian tribes under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 be initiated immediately beginning with the Oglala Sioux Tribe at once.

In the coming years you will find greater Indian resistance to the government's unresponsive rules, regulations, and its so-called "policies". Our forefathers died protecting this land and we would be cowards if we continue to allow the federal, state, and local governments to continue racial and cultural genocide against us and our other Indian brothers and sisters across this continent. If these governments would like to be confronted every day with a war of nerves, then we are fully prepared to undertake that effort in order to secure the freedom to change our government so that it will meet our modern-day needs. We have always had a system of government that met our needs before 1934, and we intend to have one that holds a future and hope for the Indian nations and tribes again.

Criminal Jurisdiction

In reading your comments concerning the vital subject of criminal jurisdiction, we find that your information is incorrect since each and every murder mentioned in our resolution occurred within the confines of the exterior boundaries of the Teton Sioux Nation described in the Treaty of 1868 dated April 29, 1868. Also, there are many cases where an Indian is killed on a reservation and the federal government has allowed the state to prosecute and free all the whitemen who were responsible for the death(s) of an Indian(s). Case histories filed in the various court houses will prove this 100% correct.

This is one open-and-shut-case where the United States is breaking the treaties almost every day all across the nation. This must stop or we will have to organize to stop these murders ourselves.

The words of your letter ring with the same intent that must have struck our forefathers as they sat in council during the treaty negotiations at Fort Laramie in 1868. Today, these promises remain unfulfilled, but let us assure you that we seek more than empty promises. Yes, there is some kind of investigation going on at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, but we will not believe any part of it until we see those responsible for crimes against the Oglala People prosecuted and convicted in Federal Court.

We demand that the United States fulfill this one treaty obligation, not as you understand it today, but as we, the Indian People, see and interpret it.

Civil Jurisdiction

We shall see what success your investigators have in protecting our civil rights and prosecuting and convicting violators. This is an area where the government has failed miserably, or is unwilling to act. We demand and are entitled to protection of our persons and property. Even today we are being harassed by tribal police with no protection provided by the federal marshals which was promised.

President's July 8, 1970, Special Message to Congress

Last, but not least, let us address ourselves to the President's message to Congress on July 8, 1970. The President is perfectly correct about termination and we wholeheartedly support his position in that matter. We will place more faith in the President's Message to Congress whenever he orders some of his top people to lobby for the Concurrent Resolution he refers to in that message. Otherwise, we still consider the message to be another packet of promises to appease the more progressive Indians, but we are telling you now that such tactics will not succeed.

The Right to Control and Operate Federal Programs: On this subject, we cannot agree with the President because he is completely overlooking the wishes of the people in the process of attempting to institute his self-determination policy.

All during the Eisenhower days when tribal governments were all under fire and termination was the word of the day in Washington, we Indians were crying for "consent clauses." We have not changed. We still believe that consent clauses are the first and most vital article that must be made a part of all Indian legislation.

The consent clause is especially appealing to the Indian People today because the tribal councils are mortgaging tribal lands without the consent of their people; they are borrowing huge sums of money from local banks and other huge sums of OEO and other federal monies which have come to tribal councils without the knowledge or consent of the people involved. Many tribes have indebted themselves for millions of dollars to the Department of Housing and Urban Development without the consent of the people and many such housing projects are nothing more than corruption and graft with the people ending up with sub-standard housing while contractors reap huge profits. The housing on the Rosebud and Yankton reservations prove this expensive fact.

It is our opinion that before the government approves a single tribe assuming control and operation of federal programs, there should be a referendum of the people which is supervised by an outside, disinterested party, so that it will be an honest polling of the people . . .

Restoring the Sacred Lands Near Blue Lake: We thank the President for signing into law the legislation which restored the Sacred Blue Lake lands to the Pueblo of Taos and now we request that the president submit legislation that will restore all of the federally-controlled lands in the Black Hills of South Dakota for they are part of the sacred lands of the Teton Lakota People of the Great Sioux Nation. We will welcome negotiations for the settlement for the rest of our Black Hills.

If the White House did not suspect that this is one of the motives behind the Sioux movement, then you have again underestimated the mighty Sioux People. We know that the American people are now aware of our great religion and will support our demands for the restoration of the Black Hills to our Lakota people. Our medicine men have foretold of this day, and until we make the government restore our holy lands to us, we will not be satisfied.

— photo by Camilla Smith

Prayers in Wounded Knee

Indian Education: We agree with you that Indian Education is one of the saddest aspects of Indian life, but even without your kind of education we know that we were right about the whiteman. Our people foretold of the destruction that would spread over the land until the whiteman would cause all people to suffer. Then and only then would the whitemen turn to the Indian for spiritual guidance. That day has arrived . . .

The so-called National Council on Indian Opportunity which was to establish a special sub-committee on education was established only after the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and Indians jointly exposed the manner in which federal funds were being expended. Those of us who were in on that venture demanded that the Commissioner of Education appoint a group of Indians who would serve as a National Educational Committee. Of course, the decision was then made to select some of the committee members from the National Tribal Chairmen's Association instead of professional educators who are Indians or persons who have a special interest in Indian education.

Whenever Indians assume total control of their local schools through whatever methods that satisfies them, then they can begin to undo the extensive damage done to our people through BIA education. This will mark the beginning of giving our Indian youth an education that will not turn them into dark-skinned white people.

Economic Development Legislation: We are aware of your 'Indian Financing Act of 1970' and all we know is that nothing came of it because no one was assigned to press for its passage.

Like many other things, this economic act would do the Indians who need the most help no good because of the structure of tribal governments. Three years have passed since this message was delivered and nothing has come of it. Why hasn't the National Tribal Chairmen's Association given their support to all of this pending legislation? Could it be that they have been ordered to lay off this legislation?

We are more than aware of some of the administration's economic plans, especially the Rosebud Sioux Tribe's $550,000 federal loan which the government approved and then gave away a management contract which included 49% of the furniture factory for a measly $15,000 investment by the whitemen from St. Louis. We are also aware of the Printer's and Publisher's Inc. contract, which was another story like the one mentioned above. The federal government even allowed the tribe to lie to receive $29,000 from the Indian Business Development Fund for the P&P operation. The tribe only owned 10% of that now-defunct firm, but they made a deal on paper where they would own 51% in order to obtain money from that slush fund for so-called Indian business. All you did with that fund was make more crooks out of a few more 'assimilated' Indians.

What we Indians want is an opportunity to use our own lands and not smokestack industries that will ruin our lands. Instead of doing something that fits into the Indians' lives, all the effort has been directed towards making the Indian forget the lands. We demand money for loans to the Indians for cattle.

Your letter has created a great deal of concern among our people who wanted very badly to be a part of an era when trust and good faith would be a fact instead of a hope. Hope is the fountain of youth for all mankind, and we Indian people are the proud owners of the deepest well of hope in the world, but that well is almost dry. We are a people who can maintain our dignity in spite of poverty and other extreme social ills but even the most dignified people in the world cannot live on hope alone.

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"We hope that a second meeting will finally bring about real understanding between our different cultures and we urge that a second meeting be held soon if only to maintain peace on this and other troubled reservations."

We hope that a second meeting will finally bring about real understanding between our two different cultures and we urge that a second meeting be held soon if only to maintain peace on this and other troubled reservations. We cannot furnish you with a list of names of the traditional chiefs and headmen who will be in attendance at the next meeting [as you requested] since we have no way of knowing who the various tribes will send as their representatives.

In any event, the Treaty Council in session on May 31, 1973 eneacted a resolution to proceed into Washington if the talks between the White House and the Traditional Chiefs and Headmen fail to produce concrete and substantial progress toward our goals. We are also preparing to invite all the traditional people from Indian tribes throughout the nation in an all-out effort to educate the federal government and to continue to inform the general American public of our plight.

We are committed to securing justice for our people through whatever kind of action it takes, and since the people of this nation are fast becoming aware of the real facts about Indians, the federal government can no longer deliberately forget or ignore its pledges, responsibilities and obligations to the Indian People.

"We will never stand by again while the government and others rob us with specially enacted laws because we are determined to control our own destiny to the fullest extent."

We would like to quote Senator Mansfield from the Congressional Record of March 6 1973: "I would point out that the Indian, as a group, have on a percentage basis furnished more volunteers in all the wars in this century than any other group. This group, despite their grievances has proved its loyalty to and love for the United States in times of stress and strain."

We ask you, "What has this achieved for us?" Many of us feel that such service has brought us nothing but more feeble attempts to help us and the letter written for you by the BIA is proof of this. But in the process we have learned from the whiteman that we must fight for our own people before we will again fight for someone else This is why our two brothers who have made the ultimate sacrifice at Wounded Knee cannot be forgotten Instead, more of us will continue to lay down our lives, if necessary, so that our Indian People can live and be treated as humans.

It is an established rule of law that acts done under a claim of right are not criminal. Therefore all of the charges against the occupiers of Wounded Knee should be dismissed upon motion by the Justice Department.

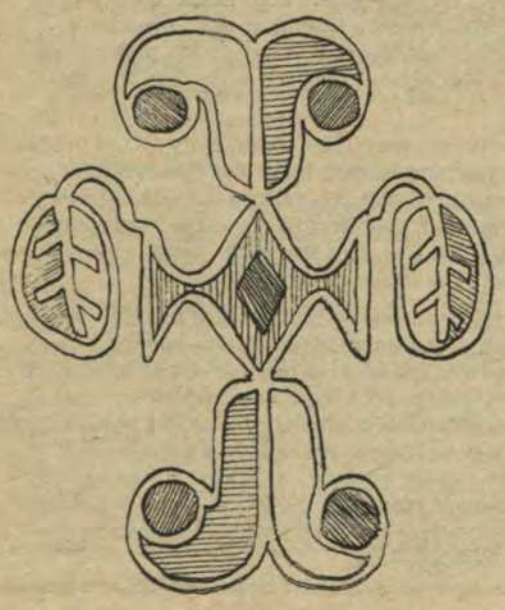
We ask that you advise your representatives to leave in Washington their preconceived ideas of Indians and to come to the next meeting with open minds so that we can have a productive meeting as you requested.

Sincerely,

Matthew King, Chairman
Teton Sioux Treaty Council
Kyle, South Dakota 57752

Frank Fools Crow
Traditional Oglala Sioux Chief
Kyle, South Dakota 57752

Attest:
Ramon A Roubideaux
Attorney at Law
Box 147
Rapid City South Dakota 57701



THE WOUNDED KNEE HEARINGS

Rapid City, South Dakota — If Senator James Abourezk has anything to say about it, there will be much action within the next two years to change Indian affairs of the United States.

The senator, chairman of the Indian Affairs subcommittee of the U.S. Senate's Interior Committee, held hearings June 16 in Pine Ridge, June 17 in Kyle, and then adjourned for further hearings in Washington.

"I want to warn everyone that there's going to be a lot of action within the next couple of years to change Indian Affairs," Abourezk said after the first day's sessions. "It's not really any comfort to me to hear BIA people know there are problems and they are working on the problems. It's better to take action than just to acknowledge a problem exists."

Abourezk said he didn't intend to let the hearings be a rehash of the Wounded Knee occupation, which he said, was only a symptom of an underlying problem.

' My effort as chairman will be to ask the Indian people how they view their problems and how they think solutions can be reached, and then try to write these solutions into law," Abourezk said.

Abourezk questioned BIA officials sharply, and gave them an indirect reprimand when he found out that BIA police were taking pictures of people who entered the hearing room.

"This is one of the most reprehensible things I've seen," the senator said. "People are afraid to testify here. They're being intimidated by BIA police."

Abourezk told BIA superintendent Stanley Wyman and area director Wyman Babby that he wanted all uniformed police and the four police cars parked near the entrance of the building removed. And he said he wanted a full report on why the police were there by the next week.

The senator took five rolls of film from BIA police, and said the film would be processed to make sure police had not substituted unexposed film when he demanded that he be given all the film.

One of the numerous complaints leading to the occupation of Wounded Knee concerned police and the tribal court. Abourezk asked Lyman if anything is being done to improve the judicial system at Pine Ridge. The superintendent said that other matters have been given priority. Babby, after being asked three times, said that he doesn't have anyone working on court problems in his area office in Aberdeen, South Dakota.

At present, two of the three judges of the reservation are appointed by the tribal council, making tribal government totalitarian. The only review of court decisions is by a three-man board — also appointed by the council.

In his prepared testimony, Babby said that he believes the BIA is being unfairly used as a whipping boy for all the past and present mistakes made in the handling of Indian affairs.

Abourezk then questioned Babby about two recent BIA rulings affecting Pine Ridge that seemed to be contradictory. In 1969, when the tribal council wanted to change its constitution, the BIA said there were 3,104 members eligible to vote.

In 1973, when Wounded Knee occupiers and supporters wanted to amend the tribal constitution, it obtained a sufficient number of signatures to make this legally possible. Then, the BIA announced that there were 9,518 eligible voters, and that the petitioners didn't have the required number.

"It looks to me like the BIA is making the voter-eligibility figures higher and lower when it wants," the senator said. In this case, "the BIA is a law unto itself," he added.

Carl Stoiber, a Justice Department attorney, said there have been 55 complaints of alleged civil-rights violations *since* the Wounded Knee occupation. Most of the cases involved charges against police or tribal officials. Three cases have been forwarded to Washington for possible action. 21 are still pending, and the rest were dropped after being investigated.

Tribal president Dick Wilson said he knows nothing about the incidents, or alleged brutality. In his prepared statement, Wilson stressed that property is the "real" problem on all reservations. He argued that the problems all stemed from "the white man's greed for land and gold."

When Russell Means testified before the subcommittee, he said that the traditional Oglalas wanted to deal with the U.S. in the same way as they did prior to 1868 — "as a sovereign nation."

Means also said that the Treaty of 1868 required the U.S. to bar whites from the Pine Ridge Reservation, and that its failure to do so had led to animosity toward such persons as the families who operated the trading post at Wounded Knee.

The Justice Department, he said, "is not doing anything. The situation is as bad as before the take-over and it only serves to give the suffering Indian people more reason to put their life on the line. We just keep dealing with rhetoric, not action."

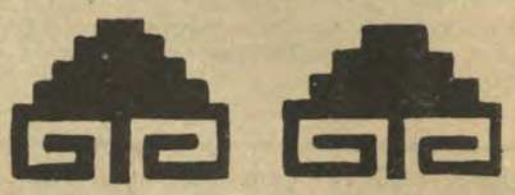
The Justice Department settlement included promises to investigate charges of corruption and violations of human rights, as well as the establishment of a Federal Treaty Commission to review U.S. agreements with the Oglalas.

Means said the Oglalas want to deal with the U.S. Government "on the same basis as they did 100 years ago — as equals." He said the treaty should be dealt with by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Another witness was Charles Red Cloud, a tribal elder.

He told Abourezk, "A lot of money is coming to the reservation in the name of our people. Nobody knows where the money goes. Our people are poorer than ever. People here wonder where their next meal is coming from. They have no future." He suggested that if there was going to be a change in the situation which led his people to "red wine," then "you and us must work out laws that allow us to go forward."

When the hearings reached Washington, two former senior BIA officials says the government spends too much money on salaries, and too little on protection of native resources



Ramon Roubideaux, attorney for AIM, told the panel that the biggest problem Indians face is the bureaucracy both in Washington and on the reservations. "Indians all over the country are waking up. The bureaucratic government, with the BIA and its puppet tribal government is a failure. It's a vicious failure because it is a police state. Free the American Indian from bureaucracy, and honor our treaties." Roubideaux said that a return to traditional forms of government was needed and he added, "We certainly can't do as bad as the U.S. has done for us."

Franklin also advocated a review of tribal constitutions and of the laws regulating the federal government's relationship to the American Indian. Both points were basic to demands made by the Trail of Broken Treaties and the occupiers of Wounded Knee.

Franklin said that currently most Indian tribal governments "do not have the capability" to provide the functions needed to control programs affecting them, "nor do they have the proper mechanism to be accountable and responsive to their tribal members."

Franklin also advocated a massive Indian reservation renewal act to rebuild reservation and Indian communities, a constitutional amendment outlawing federal termination of the government's obligations to Indian tribes, and new ways to finance Indians and their tribes through federal budgets, revenue bond financing, and private financial resources.

Franklin said these steps were required "to provide minimal progress if the Indian is to participate in his own destiny."

Franklin's testimony also outlined a proposed realignment and reduction of the BIA central offices. This news was not well received by subcommittee chairman Abourezk, who badgered Franklin on the amount of Indian participation.

Franklin alleged that of 274 tribes involved, he had talked with representatives of at least 100 of them, and had "not found serious complaints about the method of delivery of services proposed."

Abourezk said he had received complaints by the National Congress of American Indians, which represents many tribal governments, and directly from several tribes. Franklin responded that there were over a thousand Indian organizations and a million Indians, and it was "a real difficult thing" to communicate in the Indian world.

Abourezk also questioned Franklin about why the BIA had not had a commissioner since last December. Franklin had been acting in that capacity, but as a special assistant to the secretary, which has meant that his name did not have to be submitted to Congress for approval. Hearings on confirmation of a commissioner could be used as a forum for full discussion of the Bureau's activities. Also, as commissioner, Franklin would have to submit lists of his financial holdings, which could show he was in conflict of interest with decisions he might make on behalf of the U.S. Government.

BANKS Surrenders On National Indian Holiday

—photo by Michael Abramson

Dennis Banks

Rapid City, South Dakota — Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement who had been sought by the FBI since the occupation of Wounded Knee ended, gave federal authorities a Happy Custer Day present June 25 by turning himself in.

Banks had not been captured during the 48 days since the occupation ended. There were rumors that he had been killed in an inter-AIM squabble, that he had fled to Cuba, and other assorted wild ones.

He had left Wounded Knee the night before the Oglalas and U.S. participated in a disarmament program — he said that during the past weeks he had been visiting various reservations seeking out grass-roots opinions.

Banks, 36, was a founder of AIM, and was active in the Minneapolis chapter. He was taken before U.S. Magistrate James Wilson, who set bond at $105.000.

$85,000 of the bond money was put up by the Iowa Conference of the United Methodist Church, and the additional $20,000 was put up by Frank Braggioti, of Phoenix, Arizona. U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol had ordered that no travel restrictions be put on the bond.

Rapid City, South Dakota

The legal work has gone on amid the South Dakota heat, with helpers coming and going and struggling with inadequate quarters and resources. Some people are entrenching for long-term commitments.

Ramon Roubideaux of Rapid City is chief general counsel. Luke McKissack of Los Angeles is chief trial counsel for conspiracy cases, with the assistance of Roubideaux, Mark Lane, Ken Tilsen. Three other attorneys are still to be named. Lake Headley, Martha Swenson, Jeanie Davies and Fritz Felden are handling the investigative work for these cases.

Tilsen is also acting as chief legal coordinator. Working with him doing pre-trial research is Joe Beeler and Rick Marcus. Bob Lyman, Dave Williams, Lew Gurwitz, Tony Muller, Steve Kapnik are handling civil cases, while Elliot Taikeff, Marnie Easly, and Gurwitz are in charge of non-conspiracy criminal cases. The non-federal caseload is not yet assigned.

Tactical investigations are coordinated by Lane, with the assistance of Sandy Brim, Richard Metcalf, Carolyn Mugar, Paul Steiner, and Gemini.

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense office is being manned by Len Cavise, who also is doing legal work, Susan Tilson, Lyn Gurwitz, Reine Kram, Easly, John Sayer, and Monique Mojica. This group is running the office, keeping track of court dates, raising funds, managing public relations and media coverage.

Over one hundred people are under federal indictment, including the seven leaders facing eleven-count conspiracy charges. Trial of the seven major defendants is expected to begin in November, although no dates have been set. A motion will be made on August 6 to have the seven cases consolidated.

Most of the arrests made were for "interfering with a federal law enforcement officer in the performance of his official duties during a civil disorder." Driving up to the roadblock to enquire about taking medical supplies into Wounded Knee was sufficient cause for arrest. Those arrested were generally taken to the medieval Pine Ridge jail for several days to await transportation to the county jail in Rapid City — which meant that people were not formally charged until reaching Rapid City, nor were they allowed phone calls until the second or third day of incarceration, both of which are in direct violation of basic U.S. constitutional rights. Jail conditions in Rapid City were not much better. Sometimes there were nine to a cell.

Generally, arrests seem to have been made to put people on ice for a while, remove them from the area, and thus break up any support from the outside. For instance, Bart Savage and Bill Branson of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War found themselves faced with $50,000 bail bonds after they were arrested at a roadblock. Then several days later they were released on their own recognizance providing they would leave the area!

Judge Andrew Bogue has disqualified himself from presiding over the trials of Russell Means and Dennis Banks, upon the filing of affidavits demonstrating his declared bias against the two AIM officials. Thus chief judge Fred Nichol will preside over these two cases, and if the consolidation move is successful, against the other five.

Other pre-trial motions concern attacks on the grand jury selection process, failure of the government to specify particulars in the indictments so that adequate defenses can be prepared, illegal electronic surveillance, as well as the fundamental claim that the U.S. courts lack jurisdiction under provisions of the 1868 treaty, which also has power of U.S. law.

The item on illegal electronic surveillance comes from the Watergate hearings in Washington. Former White House counsel John Dean III testified that Leonard Garment directed this activity — and Garment was in charge of minority affairs under now-deposed advisor John Ehrlichman.

Cases involving the eighty-some non-conspiracy defendants will probably not come to trial until after the trial of the seven major defendancts. Elements of defense are still under study.

Charges against seventy or more persons who sought to supply food, medicine, clothing, and legal counsel to the occupants of Wounded Knee have been dismissed by motion of U.S. attorneys. There are also charges against Bill Zimmerman and four others involved in the airlift of food into Wounded Knee — similar charges against newsman Tom Oliphant and Larry Levin were withdrawn by the government.

Travel restrictions imposed by Judge Bogue on defendants are interfering with the adequate preparation of their cases. Those who live in South Dakota cannot leave the state, and those from outside South Dakota cannot enter. In contrast, when Dennis Banks was arraigned before Judge Nichol, no travel restrictions were imposed.

. . . and on the Offense Team

But if that amount of legal work were not mind-boggling in itself, the Wounded Knee legal team is also preparing offensive cases. The following civil suits are being worked on:

— *Oglala Civil Rights Organization et al v. Dick Wilson et al:* This case was filed in an attempt to curb tribal president Dick Wilson's use of a group of vigilantes, commonly called the "goon squad" at Pine Ridge, to intimidate, harass, and assault his opponents on the reservation. The original complaint requested a temporary restraining order against Wilson, other tribal officials, and goon squad members, which was denied by the U.S. District Court.

— *Janis et al v. Wilson et al:* This suit seeks to reinstate four Oglala women wrongfully terminated from their jobs with the Community Health Service by Dick Wilson's tribal council because of the women's political beliefs.

— *Fennerty et al v. Wilson et al:* This is the general suit dealing with the exclusion of non-tribal members from the reservation by order of Wilson and his executive committee and the tribal court. Persons considered to be hindering the interests of the reservation were barred, including newsmen, lawyers, and a legal worker who was authorized by a federal court to serve papers on tribal authorities.

— *Clearwater b. Tibbetts:* This suit challenges a tribal court order which prohibited any funeral procession for, or the burial of Frank Clearwater, who was shot during the occupation of Wounded Knee. The suit alleges the order was in violation of tribal procedures and the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act.

— *Wallace Black Elk v. ? :* This suit will be filed seeking the return of sacred articles belonging to Black Elk which were confiscated at the end of the occupation of Wounded Knee. On May 8, all the remaining people of the occupation left the village, among them Wallace Black Elk, a holy man who had been inside Wounded Knee since the beginning, rendering medical and spiritual aid. The occupation force was ordered to leave their personal effects in the village and were told that after "processing" they could return to claim them.

Black Elk left locked in his car such sacred items as eagle wings, pipestones, and a staff and the sacred pipe of Crazy Horse, which had been passed through the generations to Black Elk. But as the occupants were being processed, government forces swept through the village. Promises that BIA police would not be allowed to enter Wounded Knee were ignored as their cars sped into the village.

Later, when lawyers were permitted access to Wounded Knee, the area was in shambles. Cars were damaged, Black Elk's car had been entered, and stripped. It is known that some personal possessions of Black Elk are in the hands of the BIA — but officials say the sacred items are not among them.

Assistance Needed

The Wounded Knee legal team has included many lawyers and legal workers from the National Lawyers Guild, which has committed itself to recruit actively among its members for needed personnel. The organization was already committed to the defense of the Attica brothers, so most recruiting is in the western U.S.

There is an urgent need for electric typewriters and portable tape recorders.

Legal people who may have time later in the summer or in the autumn should write — also skilled typists are needed.

Funds are also needed. For information,

Wounded Knee Legal Committee
Box 147
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701
(605) 348-3326

Gering, Nebraska — Russell Means and Edgar Bear Runner were bound over to district court May 28 on charges stemming from a disturbance during a Chicano/Indios conference in Scottsbluff last January.

Means was bound over on $5,000 bond for charges of carrying a concealed weapon and assaulting an officer, and Bear Runner has three charges of assaulting an officer and was released on $1,000 bond. Both men were represented by Mark Lane, a New York attorney working with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Coalition.

"When the bodies of the soldiers who were killed at Wounded Knee were being exhumed for removal in the summer of 1906, the Superintendent of the Boarding School, who was present with some of his Indian pupils, took occasion to say to them, 'look what your fathers did, causing all these to be killed.' "

— from the Ricker Tablets, Nebr. Historical Society

BEYOND WOUNDED KNEE....

by Vine Deloria, Jr. —*photo by Ted Hetzel*

Now that the tragedy of Wounded Knee's occupation is over, American Indians are faced with a serious situation. Can we afford to remain at odds with each other any longer? Can traditionals and progressives continue to argue with each other from across the barricades of ideology while the whites continue to rip the reservations and people off? The seriousness of Wounded Knee in its ultimate aspect is not the treatment of Indians by the United States, but the treatment of Indians by each other. It is this problem that must now be resolved. The other problems, no matter how severe, cannot begin to match our own problems.

It should be apparent to every Indian in the country that the treaties are foremost on peoples' minds. The Trail of Broken Treaties featured several points on treaties which the People wanted resolved. Wounded Knee only brought the treaty question further along, and while we hope that the negotiations over the 1868 Sioux Treaty come to a successful conclusion, we cannot dare to suppose that other treaties are not as important to Indian people.

Within the next several months, the respective tribes that have treaties or agreements with the United States should come together and discuss the nature of their treaties, what their people believe the treaties mean, and how these points can be brought to the government's attention in less spectacular ways.

Part of the problem with recent movements in Indian country is that we have waited to see what solutions the United States would propose to our problems. There has been little effort on our part to bring the questions we have to the attention of the government in a *systematic* manner. Sure, we have all complained about various practices, but we have not given a thorough explanation of what alternatives we believe are open to us. Thus if we wait and see what the government will do about the treaties, we shall be in Hell when it freezes over.

We must prepare our own reports and suggestions on how to make the treaties a legal reality in our day.

A close examination of the treaties would reveal that there are some very common elements involved. The Sioux have treaties by band and as the Sioux Nation. So do the Chippewa, Pottawatomie, Sac and Fox and Apache. The tribes of Washington State have treaties by area in several instances. The Five Civilized Tribes have their own treaties and the Iroquois have treaties with England and the United States.

We should find those tribes that share common treaties and have them get together and prepare a statement on behalf of their bands which can be shared by other tribes. A thorough discussion of all issues should be undertaken and the various obscure parts of treaties should be explained to the local people so that they know what their treaties are and what they mean.

There are a great many treaties that need careful study and that need some form of legal redress. The present proposal of the administration to create a Trust Council Authority does nothing to resolve the treaty problem. Thus we need a special commission or court to handle treaty problems. There are a number of alternatives available to us.

We can seek legislation to create a special treaty commission of some duration which can review all complaints about treaties and issue decisions on the articles in controversy. Or we can ask for amendments to the Indian Claims Commission Act and have it set up as a permanent court where all disputes over Indian treaties can be resolved.

I would favor the latter course. The states of Washington, Wisconsin, Michigan, Oregon, Idaho, and Minnesota continually have the treaty problem with respect to hunting, fishing, and ricing. If we had a special Indian treaties court, these states would have to handle all these cases in this court. This would mean an end to harassment of our fishermen and hunters because few game departments would want to take frivolous cases into a federal court located some distance from their state capitols, and in a court that had expertise in Indian treaties. It is one thing to get the local J.P. to say that a treaty is no longer good. It is another to convince a competent judge with a background in treaty law to nullify a treaty.

A treaty court for Indian treaties should be an important priority in the months ahead.

New Indian Land Policy Necessary

Then, a new policy with respect to Indian lands is absolutely necessary. In the past several years, we have seen numerous activists land on federal lands to claim them for their tribes. We have seen both [Republican and Democratic] conventions pass planks advocating that surplus lands be given to Indian tribes.

We need a full examination of the present policies toward surplus lands and a definite policy to replace some of the lost lands and to give those tribes lacking a land base a solid area of land for their communities.

At present, Indian land problems are handled on a piecemeal basis, and even the smallest restoration of land requires an Act of Congress. This is absurd. Many times, the value of the land being restored is only a fraction of the cost to the tribe to come to Washington for several Congresses to get the legislation passed. Congressmen and senators should realize the demeaning nature of their work in deciding whether or not five acres of land should be returned to a tribe for housing or building or whatever. We need one basic policy that will give us a basis for building a solid reservation economy through land.

We also need an expanded credit fund for land purchases.

This has been a perennial problem with tribes because they see lands go out of trust when they have no funds to purchase their own lands. We could clear up both land consolidation and heirship in one move if we had a major loan fund for land purchase made immediately for tribes to use.

Tribal Government Reform Needed

We also need a major reform in tribal government.

Regardless of which side of the dispute you have been on, everyone should agree that we badly need extended hearings on tribal government reform. Our present governments were formed during the Depression, almost forty years ago. They may have been adequate for that time, and they may not have been adequate. That is past. What is a fact is that many tribes are now million dollar a year corporations today and yet they have the same powers and responsibilities as they did when they were hardly functioning at all. They need expanded powers and additional responsibilities clearly spelled out. Many of the decisions that are now made by bureaucrats should be made by Indian people through referendum process. Our tribes need to have their tax status clarified. They need to be told exactly what their responsibilities are with respect to the 1968 Civil Rights Act which threatens to tear tribal governments to pieces.

Congress may be in the mood to hold these hearings. Both Congressman Meeds and Senator Abourezk have often indicated that they feel that this is an area that should be considered in any work their committees do this Congress.

We should ask them for definite hearings in definite locations during the next two years that can result in reforms of the laws under which the tribes have to operate their governments.

Each tribe should be freed from restrictions on the form of government so that they can choose for themselves how they will be governed. This can be done in the next two years if we are serious about such reforms.

Will the Real GrassRoots Indian Stand Up?

We should reform our own organizations.

The day is long since past when we can continue to meet, pass meaningless resolutions, and depart. If we expect America to take us seriously, we must take ourselves seriously. We have a multitude of organizations that are competing every year for membership and funds. This makes us look like a confused group, at best, children at worst.

During the next year, we should have short and productive meetings of our major organizations in each field: political action, economic development, education, legal programs, etc. We should seek to consolidate these organizations by every means possible We shoul Jet them to regional ize if they will not merge. We should find the best officers and staff and stop hiring our cousins for important jobs. We should tie every organization into our tribal governments so that they can give support to whatever governments we have chosen for ourselves. Then we should limit our work to those fields that we really know and make our organizations the best that we can instead of belonging to several dozen organizations that amount to very little.

We need to investigate those organizations that have stayed on the fringes of Indian country and raised funds which were supposed to go to Indians, but which have gone for other things.

Some of these direct mail groups have raised millio.s, and still have not been heard of by Indians who are supposed to be getting the services. We need to know how many Indian children are being served by these children's organizations, how many communities are being served by community development organizations.

Now We've Got to Get Ourselves Together

Finally, we need to create a Council on Indian Affairs to which the major organizations can come to discuss the problems we face.

This idea was tried after the NCAI Reno convention without success. It turned into a meeting with the bureaucrats and hangers-on in Washington. We still need to create a council of organizations, but it must meet without the BIA, the White House Assistants, Robert Robertson [of the vice president's National Council on Indian Opportunity] , the foundations, or either of the political parties. It must be simply Indians talking over what we can do about Indian people and their problems, not a group of Indian leaders listening to the same old promises from the political hacks in D.C.

We have had over three years of symbolic protest now and we have very little to show for it. It's time we stopped dramatizing things and got to work solving problems. It's time we read our treaties instead of accusing the government of breaking them and letting it go at that. It's time we accepted the responsibility for governing ourselves instead of asking the BIA to "give" us self-determination. The protest movement has at least focused the attention of the American public on Indians, and this may be good or bad. But unless we do something right away to make it good, it will most certainly become bad.

Now is the time for us to finally bring things together, because unless we do something right away, we shall never again have a chance to bring ourselves together.

(AKWESASNE NOTES is grateful to Vine Deloria Jr. for this article, which we see as an important input to dialogue among native peoples. We would welcome letters and articles from other readers responding to the ideas which Vine has set out for consideration.)

"It's time we stopped dramatizing things and got to work solving problems.
"It's time we read our treaties, instead of accusing the government of breaking them.
"It's time we accepted the responsibility for governing ourselves instead of asking the Bureau of Indian Affairs to give us self-determination."

The Church at Wounded Knee

The role of Christians – and Christian churches – in the current Indian scene, and at Wounded Knee is difficult and confusing to analyze. While many native people feel that the Christian Church has been an instrument of oppression almost from the outset, it is equally evident that there are today Christian peoples who have a sincere desire to help the churches face up to their responsibilities to peoples it has helped destroy.

The controversy and confusion is not only about how native peoples see Christians – it is also a subject of great controversy within the Church itself. In fact, there are those who blame the church for the Wounded Knee occupation.

The National Council of Churches sent a team of representatives to the occupation. "The NCC role has been to protect against loss of life and attempt to open up options in the field of negotiations," said a member of the NCC delegation, the Rev. John Adams, an official of the United Methodist Church. The NCC had helped to bring the Oglalas and the U.S. to negotiations, and had acted as observers at federal positions when a showdown appeared imminent.

Dick Wilson, chairman of the Pine Ridge tribal council, had ordered the NCC off the reservation, and sent BIA police to enforce his dictum.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation had sent a number of observers to Wounded Knee after running a large ad in the New York *Times* chiding the U.S. Government for over-reacting and sending in massive armament to put down the Oglalas. One observer was Sister Mary Alice Scully, a Sister of Charity nun, who tried to walk into Wounded Knee under cover of darkness on April 27. She was carrying a knapsack of food, but after becoming separated from the main party, she was picked up by a law enforcement patrol.

Sister Mary Alice said her chief reason in trying to aid "was that the Indians has something to say to the nation and the world at large about spirituality. i would like to see the Indian stand up and speak out his message to a very pained and suffering world."

A three-member team from the Fellowship of Reconciliation went to Pine Ridge in early May, offering to help in the mediation effort. Although AIM and Oglala people accepted their offer, Richard Hellstern, the deputy assistant attorney general on the scene, absolutely refused to even meet with the group.

Noting that the confrontation had cost $100,000 a day to total $7,000,000, the Fellowship group "wondered what would have happened if our government had responded to the Wounded Knee take-over not with armed might, but with an earnest willingness to deal with the Indians' demands? What would have happened if a team of high level specialists and mediators, instead of highly armed men, had been sent to Wounded Knee?"

Sometimes churches have given help at the same time they have received strong criticism from Indian leaders. Christian churches are more responsible for the plight of the Indian than any other factor, AIM national coordinator Vern Bellecourt told newsmen in Des Moines, Iowa, during the Wounded Knee occupation.

"They set about to strip the native people of their religious identity and they set about to destroy Indian religion," Bellecourt charged. Indians now recognize, he said, "the cultural and religious genocide that was practiced actively by the concept of Christianity has caused much of the problems today confronting our people." Bellecourt said it was the root of the high alcoholism rate and high suicide rate.

Inside Wounded Knee, three churches in the tiny hamlet were used as mess halls, dormitories, and meeting places. All sustained damage. Sacred Heart Catholic Church, the white frame building atop a hill near the cemetery where scores of massacred Oglalas were buried in 1890, was used as a mess hall in the basement.

Sleeping quarters were in the nave – where often popular tunes were played on a phonograph. A hole was chopped through the roof for a lookout, and the choir loft was piled high with masonry cement bags to protect against gunfire.

The parsonage occupied by the Rev. and Mrs. Orville Lansberry – who fled the night of the invasion – was burned to the foundation on the eve of the termination of the occupation. They were pastors of the Church of God there.

Rev. Paul Steinmetz, the Catholic priest at Sacred Heart Church in Pine Ridge and president of the 25-member association of missionaries who are converting and pastoring the Oglalas, said the church at Wounded Knee would probably be restored. "We intend to go back in and serve the people. We want to try to pick up the pieces in a spirit of reconciliation." Of the attacks on the church buildings, he concluded, "There's a hatred of Christianity involved here, obviously."

Some Indian groups have looked to the churches for payment of "damages". During Wounded Knee, a group of native people gathered at the padlocked gates of the Mormon Temple Square in Salt Lake City to ask the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints for

the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints for a cool one million dollars for self-help programs. The group, which said it represented a local American Indian Movement chapter, was turned away. They left peacefully when they were told by Wendell Ashton, director of church communications, that the church did not allow any demonstrations on Temple Square.

Ashton was given a box of flowers which the group had brought for church president Harold B. Lee. Ashton gave them a prepared statement outlining the various programs of the church which benefit Indians, and said that the church had about 34,000 Indian members.

The church was already accomplishing much more good with its existing programs for Indians than the million dollars could provide, Ashton claimed. No reference was made to the Indian request during the conference sessions attended by over 8,000 delegates.

Although they were not asked for a million dollars, the Methodist Church took initiative to send funds to help with legal aid and emergency needs of the occupiers of Wounded Knee. One division of the United Methodist Board, the Women's Division, defended the occupation as one of "racial justice." The two groups sent a total of $15,000.

During the occupation, the Oglalas gave considerably more respect to America's spiritual representatives than they did to America's governmental representatives.

"If any official representative of the United States comes in here except under church escort, it will be treated as an act of war and dealt with accordingly," Russell Means said at one point in the standoff.

One group which is particularly concerned about the effects of Wounded Knee on the American public are the missionaries. They depend for their livelihood on the goodwill of donors to Indian causes.

The Rev. Neal Phipps, director of the Wesleyan Indian Missions, said in his newsletter, "One priest said it has set back the Christian work among the Indians 100 years." He based his assessment on the drop in mail and income to support mission work, and he partly blamed the role of white churches in the controversy.

Phipps sided strongly with Dick Wilson and the tribal council faction in the dispute.

Only about a dozen of the occupiers are Oglalas, Phipps said. "All the rest of the troublemakers are outside agitators. . What is being done by the few will lower them all in the eyes of the public." Phipps says this image of lawlessness has caused the drop in contributions. Things were hard enough, he said, without Wounded Knee – only about 10 per cent of the Indians in his missions are regular churchgoers.

Phipps says the six Wesleyan missionaries on the reservation have 26 "preaching stations".

Other mission groups are using Wounded Knee as an opportunity to appeal for more funds. "To reach Indian Americans for Christ and help prevent more promised Wounded Knees" is the reason given by the Rev. R.L. Gowan, president of the American Indian Missions – with the unfortunate acronym, AIM. Gowan feels that more fundamental mission work would cool off a tense situation.

He publishes a newspaper, *Indian Life & Hope*, on which appears an article about Princess Pale Moon, who is active in the National Indian Cultural Exchange, which makes her a goodwill ambassador for the NICE Indians.

She explains in the article that when she was asked to speak about the problems on the reservations, she replied: "I didn't come to protest. I come to bring a solution for the individual, whether red, black, or white. And the solution is that Jesus Christ can set the individual forever free. . . With Christ, even if one is put down, discriminated against, and mistreated, one can *still be as free as the royal eagle soaring high above the storm.*"

It would be ironic if the current situation means that it is the Indians that are helping the churches to act Christian, and if it is the churches that are helping the native people to find their way back to the religions given to them by the Creator.

During the occupation, clergy and lay representatives of the American Lutheran Churches in Rapid City and the Black Hills area voiced strong opposition to ALC grants which have been made to the American Indian Movement in the past.

Although Dr. Paul Boe of Minneapolis, executive director of the Board of Social Services of the ALC, said that the board's $15,000 grant to AIM in 1972 was given in the belief that changes in policies in Indian affairs could be brought about by AIM.

Dr. Boe drew a dismayed reaction from his audience when he said he didn't believe it was the intention of AIM to become violent. The only show of support for AIM came from one Lutheran pastor who suggested that AIM activities were not unlike the Boston Tea Party in which American patriots participated when petitions to England for change had failed.

Dr. Boe had spent two periods of five days each inside Wounded Knee. He said that financial support to AIM and other Indian groups was "consistent with the stance which Christ himself took on behalf of the poor and oppressed."

A CATHOLIC PRIEST PONDERS THE MEANING OF WOUNDED KNEE TO HIS CHURCH

(This commentary by Father Wm. G. Muench is part of a longer article which appeared in the April 4 issue of the North Country Catholic, serving Catholic families of upstate New York)

'I think of all Americans, we Catholics owe so much to these Indians. When I saw all the happenings at Wounded Knee around the Catholic Church, I was pleased. Pleased that the Church would house their movement. Until I realized that they were using this Church as a symbol of one of the things that they hated most.

We have always thought of the missionaries as the good guys and the Indians as the evil. What we do not know is how much harm these Catholic missionaries did by ridiculing and destroying Indian beliefs and life style. Instead of lovingly leading them to understand, they followed the sword and imposed their ideals. The Church has always been associated with the oppressing invaders. And it seemed to want it that way.

Now we have to find our way back to these people. To weep and repent of our past sins and injustices. We have made them what they are – frustrated and unhappy. Let us begin with understanding. Read and open your minds to just who these Indians are. We cannot support the insurrection at Wounded Knee – but we can understand.

BRANDO REFUSES OSCAR

Marlon Brando . . . a longtime advocate

When Marlon Brando decided not to accept an Academy Award and sent an Indian actress, Sacheen Little Feather, to decline, citing the current situation at Wounded Knee as his reasons, it was not the first time that the movie star had become involved in Indian matters.

Brando had been critical of the Hollywood stereotype of Indians for years. Even as far back as 1955, he was quoted as saying:

"Today the Indians are a broken race of people. The white man took his culture away and destroyed his philosophy of life and morality. We . . . destroyed the kernel of his existence. We made the Indian out to be a perennial bad force — a malignant source of evil. We did this to establish conflict in films."

Nine years ago, he was in the fish-ins on the Puyallup River in Washington State, and was promptly arrested by a state game department agent. He was in a canoe with Hank Adams (now the principal negotiator for the Trail of Broken Treaties) at the time.

The county prosecutor declined to prosecute Brando for his participation, saying he didn't want to make a martyr out of him. The next day, Brando spoke in a demonstration at the state capitol in Olympia: "We made treaties as a young, weak nation when the Iroquois Confederacy could have wiped us out. When we got stronger, we broke them. The government has been trying to divide and conquer the Indians ever since. The Indians' rights must be protected."

The reaction of columnists and the public toward Brando's support of Wounded Knee has been mixed. These are some of the comments which have been published:

William F Buckley Jr: " . . . Marlon Brando wears the moroseness of the human race heavily on his shoulders. It is a lucky accident of nature that in the past he has been laconic not only on the screen, but off it. One wonders whether he is now casting off his inhibitions, even as he did his pants in his last movie, resolving to become Mr. Jane Fonda. One social encephalophone from Hollywood is rather a lot as it is, and one can only hope therefore that on reaching Wounded Knee, Brando will have buried himself deeply there, and be adopted by the Oglala Siouxs, whom he can instruct in the devil-law of the white man. . ."

Chris McDaniels, The Great Speckled Bird: " . . .Hollywood displayed some contemporary American decadence in the 'big night' as Academy Awards were presented to the big-wigs of dreamland. A great deal of trouble was taken to make the event seem bigger-than-life, and above all, happy. . . All the stars made a show of being one big happy family whose only desire is to provide fun and joy for Mom&dad&buddy&sis American. In short the whole show was a farce. The sole intrusion of reality in the glittering affair came when [Little Feather turned down the Brando award.] This announcement, this intrusion of sincere, human feelings into Tinseltown's big show, was greeted with catcalls and boos from those who couldn't stomach the existence of reality amid the fun and games of movieland. . ."

Michael Kilian: "As a noble gesture, Marlon Brando's stunt at the Oscar awards the other night has to go dow down as one of the most ridiculous in history, rivaling even Richard Nixon's pledge to keep his cocker spaniel, Checkers. . . If Brando is not the victim of an overzealous press agent, then one can only assume he has succumbed to that show business malady — self righteous self importance. . ."

(In addition, there were comments by Brando's ex-wife Anna Kashfi, who went into court again to gain custody of their child, Christian. Miss Kashfi cited Brando's refusal to accept his Oscar as proof that Brando is "antisocial" and that his award turn-down "has caused my child additional humiliation and embarrassment.") She said the turn-down was "blatant disregard for conventional social decorum.")

David Elliott: " . . . People have taken to television as a sedative and they resented Brando, a mere actor, trying ever so feebly to wake them up. As a result, the thrust and value of his protest was ignored, drowned in the sludge of controversy over the etiquette of disturbing a popular TV entertainment. But let's not lean too hard on TV, the national scapegoat. All the media use problems, crises, protests, "personalities" as cogs on a continuous belt of sensation. Issues are raised, consumed in controversy, and then ground into a fine powder of cliche. . . Marlon Brando's appeal for the Indians was quickly spread and typically mistreated: compassion became news, then controversy, and now, nothing."

The London (England) Guardian: " . . . It was appropriate that Mr. Clint Eastwood, who has made a fortune out of playing cowboy roles, should joke insensitively about presenting an Oscar for all the cowboys killed by Indians in films of recent years. It was justice that Mr. Brando should have exploited the media so that the Indian voice could be heard in nonviolent protest."

Charles Champlin, Los Angeles Times: "What riled most and will I suspect rankle longest is that Brando chose not to come by and do in person what it was he thought he had to do. The angry booing and then the cool grace with which his emissary, Sacheen Little Feather, stood her ground, made a very theatrical and also very moving moment — but its message was probably not wholly what Brando had in mind. It was the night's best performance. . .The touble is that the gesture of protest is itself so movielike — the grand dramatic stroke which on the screen rather more often than in real life precedes the happy ending. The gesture also believes that publicity itself solves problems, or which in real life precedes the happy ending. The gesture alsc believes that publicity itself solves problems. . ."

Dave Billington, Montreal Gazette: ". . . Perhaps there is a question of whether Oscar Night is the right moment to make a political statement. Jane Fonda declined to do so last year, and in so doing added tremendous weight to her presence.

But it's more a question of tactics than morality. Those who say that sport or entertainment and politics shouldn't be mixed are living in a world which bears little resemblance to the one which stares back at us each night from the TV screen or our news pages. . . Brando's timing was as perfect in life as it is on camera, and more than justified by the events to which he war drawing attention."

The Pasadena Eagle: ". . . Brando complained that by allowing cowboy and Indian movies on TV, the film industry is supporting a stereotype that damages the present cause of Indians. That same industry saw the sense in taking 'Amos and Andy' off the air during the Black struggle. The Western, though, has become the mythic art form of our nation. Large numbers of Americans grow up identifying with the Western hero. Cops with gun in holsters drive their cycles into the sunset. The cowboy myth is important to the American psyche and we would imagine them unwilling to give it up just for a few Indians.

. . . It wasn't the wrong time, place, and way to fight his cause — it just seemed that way to many Americans who don't like to be disturbed when their minds are sleeping."

The New York News: "Actor Marlon Brando disdained to accept an Oscar, sending as his proxy a buckskinned Indian lass to deliver Brando's belch about how his conscience was wounded by Hollywood's foul treatment of American Indians. Judging by the hoots and catcalls that greeted Brando's gesture, the movie gentry is as fed up as the general public with ego-tripping shamsters who use award ceremonies for political popoffs.

Self-seekers like Brando would be more convincing if they hired their own halls and bought their own television time to plug their causes."

Robert E Thompson, national editor, The Hearst Newspapers: " . . . Brando is to be commended for his dedication to a better life for the American Indian. But on Tuesday night, he did nothing to benefit the Indian. All he did was demean a great industry that needs to be supported, rather than attacked by those who have reaped its profits and its glory."

When They Laid Down Their Arms, We Murdered Them.

(This is the statement which Marlon Brando wrote regarding his refusal to accept an Academy Award.)

For 200 years we have said to the Indian people who were fighting for their land, their life, their families and their right to be free: "Lay down your arms, my friends, and then we will remain together. Only if you lay down your arms, my friends, can we then talk of peace and come to an agreement which will be good for you."

When they laid down their arms, we murdered them. We lied to them. We cheated them out of their lands. We starved them into signing fraudulent agreements that we called treaties which we never kept. We turned them into beggars on a continent that gave life for as long as life can remember. And by any interpretation of history, however, twisted, we did not do right. We were not lawful nor were we just in what we did. For them, we do not have to restore these people, we do not have to live up to some agreements, because it is given to us by virtue of our power to attack the rights of others, to take their property, to take their lives when they are trying to defend their land and liberty, and to make their virtues a crime and our own vices virtues.

But there is one thing which is beyond the reach of this perversity, and that is the tremendous verdict of history. And history will surely judge us. But do we care? What kind of moral schizophrenia is it that allows us to shout at the top of our national voice for all the world to hear that we live up to our commitment when every page of history and when all the thirsty, starving, humiliating days and nights of the last 100 years in the lives of the American Indian contradict that voice?

. . . Perhaps at this moment you are saying to yourself, what the hell has all this got to do with the Academy Awards? Why is this woman standing up here ruining our evening, invading our lives with things that don't concern us and that we don't care about? Wasting our time and money and intruding into our homes.

I think the answer to those unspoken questions is that the motion picture community has been as responsible as any for degrading the Indian and making a mockery of his character, describing him as savage, hostile, and evil. It's hard enough for children to grow up in this world. When Indian children watch television, and they watch films, and when they see their race depicted as they are in films, their minds become injured in ways we can never know.

Recently, there have been a few faltering steps to correct this situation, but too faltering and too few, so I, as a member of this profession, do not feel that I can as a citizen of the United States accept an award here tonight. I think awards in this country at this time are inappropriate to be received or given until the condition of the American Indian is drastically altered. If we are not our brother's keeper, at least let us not be his executioner.

. . . I would hope that those who are listening would not look upon this as a rude intrusion, but as an earnest effort to focus attention on an issue that might very well determine whether or not this country has the right to say from this point forward we believe in the inalienable rights of all people to remain free and independent on lands that have supported their life beyond living memory. . .

Wounded Knee Letters

(There were many letters to the editor in the newspapers of North America. Many were ill-informed, but most were impassioned. The most intense of feelings appeared in the "Sound Off" column of the Rapid City Journal, just 120 miles north of Wounded Knee and the principal city of western South Dakota. Feelings became so intense that the newspaper ceased to have local writers cover one of the biggest stories it might have in this century, and relied on ordinary wire-service coverage so that it would not be accused of being too partial. These letters below are a sampling of those which appeared.)

If the American Indian attempts to integrate fully into modern white society, his efforts will have been in vain because the white man's culture will not survive.

Indian cultures and others like it will survive because they are built around a central respect for the earth and universe. The white man, however, has taken Ma Earth for all she is worth and is planning to move on to new ground, deluding himself with the intention of someday ruling even the far stars. This will not occur for his cultural flame is already starting to fizzle . . .

And what then? It may easily be that the real Americans, the ones that the white man sneers at for their customs and beliefs, might show you or your children how to survive on this planet, independently, and in harmony with the universe. And in the meantime, it would be well that you treat these same people with the respect they deserve.

Jack Sprecher

Spearfish, South Dakota

. . . Wake up America. Insist on a return to constitutional government, not only for yourself but the black man, the Indian, the Chicano . . . It may well be the Indian is leading the way in our fight to return constitutional government to all.

H.C. Moore

Belle Fourche, South Dakota

. . . I do not know for sure if the AIM leaders are saints, sinners, madmen or sane. I do not know their political leanings. I do know that they show courage, and you have to admire somebody willing to die for what they believe in. . .

Margaret Minkel

Rapid City

The American Indian Movement is a crying out of a people for the right to live in an environment of oppression so intense that they can no longer survive in dignity and would rather die than endure it. [Our reaction] will decide whether the nation survives as a civilized one or regresses to the level of the unreasoning beast. . .So far there is but a slim hope in favor of the human race as the arrogance of power continues to prevail over the reason and compassion of the people in the Black Hills.

Bud Cooper

Sturgis, South Dakota

Maybe this doesn't speak for all Indians, but it does speak for the ones who can't stand it any more and are trying to be heard.

If we can't negotiate with the white man peaceably, then violence and outbreak must be the only way to make people understand and give attention to Indian problems. We have suffered for a long time. Sure, some are making a go of life with the white man, but what about the poor Indian? . . .

We are also striving to pull all red men together. Some say the plight of the Indian is just for the young, but it isn't. We must pull together to hang onto our heritage and traditions, because when that goes, so will the Indian. . .

I hear people crying on the radio shows, wishing this outrage would stop and that the Indian would be punished. Don't you think we've been punished long enough -- a whole century? No punishment can be greater than that which we have already endured. . .

Wilmer Mesteth

Pine Ridge

. . . [The leaders of AIM] are intelligent, part-Indian and criminals. They should be hunted down and placed in jail where all criminals belong, and then communications should be opened at all levels for the Indian people to be heard.

. . . These militant leaders have brought to light that all is not well, or they wouldn't have the followers they do. God sometimes uses evil men to carry out His plan, but they won't be counted in the judgment, and this could be our policy. . .

Connie Blair

Vale, South Dakota

. . . I would like to know why taxpayers' money is being used through the BIA to give Indians who are known sympathizers of AIM a free ride to college. . .

L.W. Smith

Rapid City

The AIM is said to have brought lawlessness and disorder to the reservation. The truth is law and order have never existed.

. . . I am an Oglala Sioux and have lived on the Pine Ridge Reservation all my life. It has been my experience that robberies go uninvestigated and murder cases remain unsolved. Law and order here has always been a joke. . .

Alms Swalley

Wanblee, South Dakota

. . . I feel [the presence of out of state militant Indians] for purposes unlawful and self-seeking, for perpetrating acts which are detrimental and denigrating, to say nothing of the ridicule being heaped upon our state and its citizens, should be brought to an end. When talk and mediation reach an impasse of unreasonableness, then we must stand up for those things we hold dear. . .

The Christian advocates no passive acquiescence to the evils of society. Something positive should be done now to prevent further infringement on the rights of all of the citizens of South Dakota.

Mr. & Mrs A. Hilburn

Sturgis, South Dakota

. . . Our sympathy goes out to the larger group of Indian people who have lived and died for this country and are proud to be the kind of citizens who take their responsibilities as well as the privileges which America has afforded them.

Gladys Eccarius

Rapid City

The takeover of Wounded Knee surely has a lot of Communistic traits. . . The government should sell the reservation land, put the Indian out to grass, and use the tax money that then would be available for the school systems.

Charles Rang

Rapid City

. . . Is there any fact to the rumor of [AIM being] Communist? I hope if there is, it will be uprooted soon. Many churches and church groups, according to rumor, are donating money in aid to AIM. I can't understand this after what they did to the church at Wounded Knee.

Ellece Week

Winner, South Dakota

Has our government become totally unresponsible to the taxpaying American people and do you wonder how a major war is run if the Wounded Knee nonsense is any example?

The federal government is maintaining several hundred federal marshals around Wounded Knee at taxpayers expense to protect some known criminals who are constantly breaking laws there, including the stealing and butchering the cattle of area ranchers. . .

Max Allen

Hyannis, Nebraska

. . . The facts are, the present occupants of Wounded Knee are nothing more or less than a gang of renegades and should be dealt with exactly as "Chief" Wilson pleases since Wilson is the duly-elected leader of the residents of the reservation. However, failing action on Wilson's part, why not rally around Jim Kesling and the "vigilantes" he proposes to "recruit" from the National Guard?

Emil Tschopp

Rapid City

. . . Caught up in the tragedy of our own racism, too few of us whites face honestly our disgraceful history of political, social and economic oppression of the Indian people. . . Until we halt our violence against our Indian brothers, the slow but terrible violence of poverty and injustice and contempt -- we can scarcely expect their militant leaders to relinquish the politics of confrontation.

John Dunn

Rapid City

. . . John Dunn's letter was both amusing and disturbing . . . I reject this guilt syndrome. I refuse to feel a personal guilt for the sins committed at Wounded Knee or the Little Big Horn a century ago simply because the guilty party had my color skin.

Kent Langloss

Dick Wilson, President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, claims the AIM takeover of Wounded Knee is costing the tribe $12,000 to $15,000 a day. This is ridiculous. Wilson is only trying to gain more non-Indian support and sympathy for his administration.

The only support he has now is the BIA, a few tribal governments controlled by the BIA, his goon squad, and non-Indian ranchers. He lost the support of the majority of the Oglala Sioux people many moons ago.

Most of the money that Wilson claims the tribe is losing has gone to pay the wages of his "goon squad." The needless roadblock behind the federal marshals is costing the tribe an unbelievable amount of money. Flares alone cost $16 a piece. The goons use them for Roman candles and send them up all night long, one right after the other. One drunken goon set off a whole case of flares by "accidently" firing a flare into the case.

In addition, Wilson has been forcing tribal employees to put in time on the roadblocks. Anyone that refuses, automatically loses his or her job.

Edgar Bear Runner

Pine Ridge, South Dakota

. . . One hundred years ago, the Indian people were the subject of unbelievabl physical violence at the hand of the white man. Since then, most of the physical violence has bee replaced by other forms of violence. This violence comes now in the form of psychological violence, economic violence, cultural violence and institutional racism. These forms of violence may even be subtle enough that they are not seen by a man not faced with them, but when a man lives with it day after day, hour after hour, a point must come when he can no longer take it and he must either fight or die. . .

The violence that White America has laid upon non-whites is the result of fear -- fear of change. Fear that the white ivory tower may be composed of a poor grade of plastic. Think about it.

Bill Matson

Rapid City

. . . Permissiveness and fear on the part of law enforcement officials, and especially the U.S. government, could lead to a lot of trouble in the Black Hills next summer, and if it does, it may have the effect of destroying our tourist trade for the second year in a row. We stand a chance of losing a tourist industry because of a band of renegades who have decided to "do their thing" and disrupt the entire system. . .

J.D. Smith

Newcastle, Wyoming

. . Many conservatives and the John Birch Society in particular have been trying for a long time to warn Americans about the revolution in the making as a result of our tax dollars being used by the Office of Economic Opportunity. From the very beginning, the OEO was set up for the purpose of fomenting revolution and violence. . .

Powerful conspiratorial forces at the top are combining with criminal revolutionaries at the bottom, using our tax money to bring us to our knees. How does it feel, fellow taxpayers, to provide the rope at your own hanging?

Gary Velder

Newell, South Dakota

. . . Indians view voting procedures differently than do other citizens. They believe that by not voting, they show they do not approve of the man running for office. This defeats them because it puts into office the very people they disapprove of and the result is continual strife and unrest. . .

Present day tribal elections are a travesty. The Indian has been sold a bill of goods. One of the greatest swindles of all time has been forced upon him as he happily or unhappily stumbles around in an election maze and carries out his role in the game of chance that has left him a pauper in his own land. . .

Eva Nichols

Rapid City

"World's Greatest Boss" In Deep Trouble

Apache Nation at San Carlos (Arizona) – The tribal council here is split into deep factions, as on most reservations. And while the Bureau of Indian Affairs pretends disinterest in tribal politics, somehow or another, ways are found to give backing to persons who are, in the BIA's views, cooperative.

There was so much cooperation at San Carlos, however, that now a U S. Department of Interior audit of the tribal council and tribal enterprises is being made. Those who fought for over a year to get the audit made now say that it is not enough – there should be a grand jury investigation and possible criminal charges.

However, tribal chairman Marvin Mull says he welcomes the audit, saying it will clear him of embezzlement and mismanagement charges. Opponents worry that he might be right, since they believe the BIA has been party to some of the wrong-doings, and an Interior Department audit will prove nothing.

Marvin Mull ... bankruptcy for the Apaches?

–Arizona Daily Star/Joel Nills

Since the release of some BIA documents to the press, the tribal council has tried to stop further leaks by passing resolutions prohibiting financial disclosures to unauthorized persons. As the council's majority sees it, that includes even council members who oppose them, as well as newsmen.

And the BIA area office in Phoenix has sent out a memo telling its employees not to discuss tribal affairs with anyone, under threat of disciplinary action.

Those documents which have been leaked out show:

– the tribe's available cash, not counting a U.S. Treasury trust fund, fell from $671,791 in 1966 to $10,425 in August, 1971. Most of the decrease came during one eight-month period.

– Money owed to the tribe by tribal members more than tripled during the same period: from $542,246 in 1966 to $1,630,897 in August 1971.

– money owed creditors of the tribe more than quadrupled during the same period, from $99,140 to $446,826.

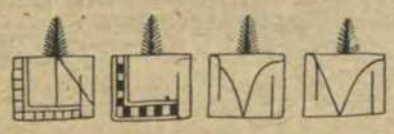
In an effort to stave off disaster, the tribal council withdrew $400,000 from a trust fund to pay off creditors. A plan to collect delinquent debts was set up – but it generally was unsuccessful.

The council has been trying to get even more trust money, but the latest request for $300,000 has been held up in Washington by top-level BIA officials. The money was intended to help out financially insolvent recreational enterprises, and a tribal trading post in Bylas, a small town on the eastern edge of the reservation.

One BIA employee told Joel Nilsson, *Arizona Daily Star* staff writer, that "tribal leaders are too busy trying to beat their own people when they could be getting the tourist dollar."

In a copyright article, Nilsson says that tribal council chairman Marvin Mull insists the tribe is progressing, and he rejects allegation that it has gone bankrupt. However, tribal vice-chairman Edmund Wesley, a staunch opponent of Mull, says the tribal council has been kept afloat primarily from cattle sales of its prime herds, as well as increased cutting of timber.

A BIA loan examiner's report in 1970 hinted that there were violations of the tribal plan of operations – he called for a complete audit of tribal enterprises and of the San Carlos tribal government loan program. The report was received in the Phoenix BIA office in February, 1971.



The report stated that the San Carlos Trading Enterprise, now leased to a non-Indian and no longer owned by the tribe, was in "serious condition" with tribal members owing more than $660,000. "The reasons for these deplorable conditions can be traced to the complete disregard for the plans of operations," the report said.

The report also indicated that members owed the tribe almost $1.5 million, which reflected an increase of $543,919 in only nine months – mostly just prior to the tribal elections.

Other violations included exceeding loan limits of $25,000 to any one member, and borrowing $70,000 from a bank without the authorization of the secretary of Interior Department.

The tribal officials have been pretty much silent about all the accusations, but more information continues to leak out. For instance the tribal auditors recently discovered a special account in a local bank opened in 1972 by Marvin Mull Jr., son of the tribal chairman – and office manager for the tribal council. The auditor questioned the purpose of the account, called "The San Carlos Apache Tribe Special Fund", noting that four checks, totalling about $1,700, were issued to the chairman -- and the check stubs were found with nothing indicated as to their purpose, amounts, or even names.

Wesley says there were 1,937 people (out of 5,000) on the reservation on some form of welfare during the last fiscal year, and yet Mull, he says, is using tribal funds for his own benefit.

It is no secret that Mull and Wesley factions have been at loggerheads for years. Mull beat Clarence Wesley for the tribal chairman's post in 1962. Wesley, a former tribal chairman and former president of the National Congress of American Indians, says the reservation has gone steadily downhill since that time.

Both he, his son, and their supporters have written letters to congressmen, the BIA, the Department of Justice, and other federal officials seeking an investigation into tribal finances – but there was no action. The elder Wesley, now 62, was starting to say that the only answer would be to call in the American Indian Movement and have a confrontation.

–Arizona Daily Star/Joel Nilsson photos

Clarence Wesley *Edmund Wesley*

"The government people aren't doing a damn thing about the situation at San Carlos," Clarence Wesley said. "The only answer I come to is confrontation. I want a confrontation. I don't care if they hang me."

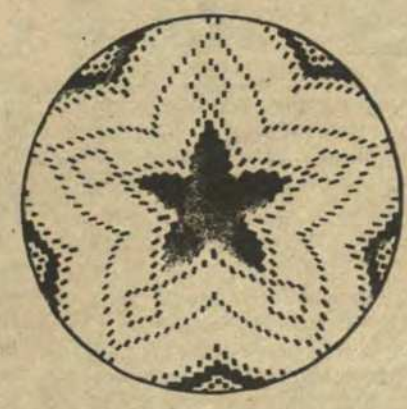
Accusations against Mull range from election fraud (counting the ballots and throwing some away) to operating a spoils system (doling out tribal jobs to friends and relatives), embezzlement of tribal funds, and buying votes (by issuing grocery orders from the San Carlos Trading Post.

The younger Wesley, although he is tribal council vice-chairman, says he has been prohibited from even examining the financial statements prepared by tribal accountants.

He asks how Mull can own three late model cars, including a Cadillac – and a new home, and how Mull's son can afford a double-wide trailer furnished with French Provincial furniture.

Mull denies the allegations. He once had a pamphlet written about him, chronicling his life as a former alcoholic who found salvation in Christ. He has a small cup on his desk, "World's Greatest Boss."

The BIA has tried to help out the situation in a way that would not reflect unfavorably on either itself or the tribe. For instance, it offered a person to act as tribal manager, free of charge. Instead, the tribe replaced its long-time lawyer and public accounting firm, and hired its own tribal manager and a public relations firm to create a better image.



The auditor, Dale Belcher, said that although the tribe did over $1-million in business in 1970, over $800,000 of this was on credit. He also said funds had been shifted from one tribal enterprise to another, jeopardizing some of them.

Another memo, written December 9, 1971, by Clifford Benson, BIA area finance officer, said that funds also had been diverted from their intended purpose to other uses, resulting in a loss of cash. Thus, he said, the tribe is now in "an insolvent financial condition."

Both Phoenix newspapers, *The Arizona Daily Star* and *The Arizona Republic*, printed information on the leaked BIA documents, and sent reporters to ferret out more information.

In response, Mull wrote letters to their editors. To one paper he said, 'It is we who know what is best for our tribe, and since you have chosen to intrude in our private affairs, we suggest that you start right in Phoenix with many other non-Indian crusades . . .' He charged that the newspapers were giving massive space to "sensationalism, half-truths, dated documents" and that it was a "deliberate attempt to hurt the dignity and pride of every Indian in Arizona." He did not, however, deny the charges.

With still no action from the BIA, a tribal group led by Tony Machukay petitioned for an audit by the General Accounting Office, the government's financial watchdog. The BIA audits, they said, were only credit investigations. The same group also circulated petitions opposing any further drain on tribal trust funds to bail out current debts. Tribal checks had been bouncing.

Rep. Sam Steiger, an Arizona Republican, said that he would call for a Congressional investigation into the whole situation. But that was last January, and then with Wounded Knee calling the whole tribal government structure into serious question, there has been no probe at San Carlos.

The probe would check out such things as Mull and his son approving loans to each other, without collateral to secure them – the pair have sole control over tribal loans. The BIA has confirmed complaints of tribal members that this has happened. Furthermore, the BIA also has said that Mull owed more to the tribe than any other single debtor in 1970, with a loan balance of nearly $56,000 to several tribal enterprises.

Late last winter, 88 head of cattle were sold secretly at Willcox, Arizona, to help satisfy demands of creditors.

But still no real action from government officials. It took until April for the Office of Survey and Review of the Department of Interior to start a check into tribal finances, and the U.S. Attorney's office in Phoenix says it will wait until the audit is over before undertaking any investigation. There is no indication when the audit will be completed. Joseph Jenckes, chief of criminal investigation in the U.S. Attorney's office, says he has asked for a speedup in the audit, which is supposed to deal with every phase of the tribe's financial dealings.

With the pressures mounting, the BIA has held up approval of the tribe's 1973 budget, and has refused to advance any further funds from the trust account.

While it may be that the BIA has given "self-determination" to tribal councils, the San Carlos Apaches are one of a number of peoples seeking to find democracy and freedom for their nations.

The Mineral Strip Controversy

An entirely different sort of situation has developed over the last few months in regard to a piece of land known as the Mineral Strip. Its 232,000 acres have been leased to non-Indian cattlemen for decades, but the tribal council has ordered them off the land by June June 30, since, they say, they need the land to provide additional grazing for Apache cattle.

(continued on next page)

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The resolution was passed by the tribal council on February 6. The ranchers are upset with the order, and have vowed to remain on the land unless the federal government compensates them for improvements made on the land – their homes, roads, fences, corrals, and water pumps. The tribal council backs them on this, and says it hopes the U.S. will put up the necessary sum, perhaps $1-million to $5-million.

Public opinion in Arizona seems to be on the side of the ranchers, who have been portrayed as victims of Indian injustice. However, each rancher knew that the time would come when he would be ordered off the Mineral Strip. Signed agreements clearly stated that if the ranchers were ordered off, improvements would be left behind.

According to one source, the ranchers have been permitted to graze their cattle during the past 30 years at an average cost of two cents per acre.

Now the attorney for the San Carlos Apaches is Edward Berger, whose contract with the Papago tribal council was subject of great controversy (see article below.)

– photo by Joel Nilsson

–photo by Joel Nilsson

Mull's opponents say that the reason he wants the white ranchers off the land is not so that the Apaches will get their land back – but rather so that he can lease the land back out to copper companies.

Mull admits that the tribe has been in contact with several large copper companies, and that some prospecting has been done. But he denies that he has made any secret aggreements.

An Arizona Bureau of Mines newsletter recently stated there is a high probability of copper ore deposits in the area, given the "unusual geologic quality of the area."

Tony Machukay wonders about the whole deal. "Why the sudden interest in mining development now in Apache lands? Is it because tribal administration now has an energetic mining law specialist (Berger)? Or is it because legitimate cattle owners in the strip have long been barriers to "industrial progress" at the expense of mining interests?"

Berger was first hired by the San Carlos Apaches in 1971 as a legal expert in mining. He became tribal attorney following the resignation of Royal Marks, who had been representing the tribe since 1953. Marks' resignation was, at the time, a matter of controversy.

Berger reportedly told the San Carlos tribal council that he could get things done for them through his numerous contacts in the White House. Berger once worked as an assistant to executives of a large mining company subsidiary, it is reported.

His contract with the Apaches is reportedly $24,000 a year, but it has not been approved yet by BIA officials.

The Mineral Strip was traditional Apache land. When the San Carlos Reservation was created 100 years ago by presidential order, it was included. But late in the 19th century, non-Indian interests began bringing pressure to divest the tribe of 232,000 acres on the southern border of the reservation because of the high mineral potential – but then the mineral sought was coal.

The San Carlos Apaches were told that the tribe would make lots of money, and that it should be ceded back to the government for mineral exploitation, and that funds would be collected and turned over to the Apaches. However, little money was ever collected. In the meantime, the ranchers moved into the area on federal grazing leases, made improvements, and settled down, although they had no deeds. In 1969, Stewart Udall, then Secretary of Interior, ordered the mineral lands returned to the Apaches. The BIA had been the leasing agent, issuing one-year leases since 1969.

In June, Congressman Morris K. Udall, an Arizona Democrat, asked the tribal council not to enforce its June 30 deadline in order to give the U.S. Congress time to pass a bill giving compensation to the ranchers. He estimated the House and Senate could pass the bill by late summer, and it would become law after it was signed by the president. Many bills giving native peoples compensation for their losses have been lingering around Capitol Hill for over two decades now.

(Thanks to Associated Press, John A. Winters of the Tucson Daily Citizen, and Ken Burton, Joel Nilsson and Ben MacNitt of the Phoenix Star, for information used here.)

Papagos Fire Their $100. Per Hour Attorney

Sells, Arizona – The practice of "Indian law" can sometimes be very frustrating. Clients have no funds, research is very involved, courts are often unsympathetic. But occasionally, there are exceptions.

Consider the situation of Edward B. Berger of Tucson. He was getting $59,700 a year for giving legal advice to the Papago Tribal Council – until some Papagos demanded that he explain some of his expense statements and fees. After a month-long dispute, he resigned.

"I'm glad it's over," Berger said May 17. "I don't believe in representing a client that is disunited in support of their attornev."

Edward Berger . . . former Papago tribal attorney, still working for San Carlos Apaches.

The tribal council voted 10-7 to accept the resignation. The vote came after three hours of discussion – in the Papago language. The meeting hall was packed with nearly 150 people, and while they were permitted to listen, audience participation in the discussion was prohibited.

When tribal chairman Augustine Lopez suggested a vote on the resignation by secret ballot, there were shouts from the spectators, and Lopez then agreed to a vote by show of hands. Two tribal councilmen abstained from voting.

Lopez himself was coming under heavy criticism for being what some Papagos called "a puppet of Berger." Michael Rios, who said some people were circulating a petition to recall Lopez from office, charged that "Berger calls the tribal council meetings and makes up the agendas.

Berger has repeatedly denied accusations made against him and his law firm, Whitehill, Berger, and Karp, concerning his dealings with Papagos.

But his opponents have stuck to their charges. They say for instance, that Berger would receive a $350,000 fee for a $2-million settlement involving the Papagos and Vekol Mining Company. Berger defended the fees he received, saying his fee in such cases is $100 an hour.

The night of the council meeting where the resignation was discussed, Berger's offices in Tucson's Transamerica Building (and the adjoining offices of the Papago Tribal Utility Authority and the Papago Department of Mines) were broken into, and files were taken.

Berger said the work must have been done by young militant Papagos. "This was done by people who are out to stop any development or operations on Indian land," Berger claimed. Slogans had been scrawled on wall maps by the burglars: "No more mining!"

The drive to unseat Berger was led by Joann Francisco, tribal treasurer; Archie Hendricks, tribal council member; and Mike Rios, who was formerly council vice chairman.

In 1972, the Papagos had an annual income of $288,000. Fees allegedly paid Berger during the past three years for arguing lawsuits, negotiating mining contracts, and handling other legal matters totalled $944,080, including accounts still owed to him. The largest sum in that total was $360,000 he was paid for settling the tribal council's lawsuit against the American Smelting and Refining Company which was settled in December, 1971, for $2.1 million.

The council people say Berger also received $24,000 as counsel to the Papago Tribal Utility Authority, $73,000 for his retainer, expenses, and rent paid for use of his office by the utility authority, and $45,000 for dealings with the Central Arizona Project, a controversial water project.

Berger is also attorney for the San Carlos Apaches, and is a magistrate in South Tucson.

The attorney had asked for a new contract which would have begun July 1. He was asking $180,000 for a three-year term. However, some council members objected to that, saying he had not yet fulfilled existing contracts. For instance, they pointed to a May, 1971 contract of $54,000 for a two-year project to prepare a new tribal constitution. That was in addition to his usual fee. And, they alleged, the constitution had not been seen yet.

Some Papagos feel they are only starting to find out what has been happening. Mike Wilson, director of the Papago Cultural Research and Half-way House, said that Berger has been reluctant to show tribal members copies of contracts with mining firms which operate on the reservation.

All legal contracts between tribal councils and their attorneys are approved by the BIA area director and by the Secretary of the Department of Interior.

Average family income on the Papago reservation is about $1500.

(Thanks to information from the Associated Press, John A. Winters of the Tucson Daily Citizen, and Ken Burton and Ben MacNitt of the Phoenix Star.)

IT'S TREATY TIME AGAIN!

—Scottsdale Daily Progress photo

Helicopter excursion replaces trinkets as U.S. takes Yavapai for a ride

Fort McDowell, Arizona – It's treaty time again!

The 400 Yavapai/Apache people of the Fort McDowell reservation near Scottsdale, Arizona, are being asked to give up 15,000 acres of their best reservation lands so that the people of nearby cities will have water to flush their toilets and water their lawns.

The plan is part of the $1-billion boondoggle called the Central Arizona Project (CAP). It proposes the building of Orme Dam, a $90-million project, at the point where the Salt and Verde rivers flow together about 25 miles northeast of Phoenix.

The reservoir would provide storage for Colorado River water brought overland through a system of aqueducts to Arizona's central deserts. The dam is scheduled for completion in 1980. The water level would fluctuate a great deal, with the land being a huge mud flat much of the time.

There would be an 800-acre permanent pool, a 5,500-acre conservation pool which would be under water about half the time and would be a mudflat the rest of the time – and an additional 9500 acres of flood control area that might get covered every five years or so.

In February, a group of officials came to the reservation to tell the people of the many benefits they would be receiving.

Robert Bond, head of the BLR's CAP right of way acquisition division, told them, "Granted we're taking lots of things away from your community, but the pleasures and benefits you derive from [the dam] should compensate for it."

But the many listeners were unimpressed, even though Bond's offer would give each and every resident over $50,000 cash.

"How can you keep shoving Indians around?" one woman asked, her voice cracking. "The whole country has been taken from us. Indians always pay for the white man's mistakes."

"We understand your cultural and social ties to the land," assistant BLR commissioner Gilbert Stamm replied.

Another woman, tears streaming down her face, lamented as she told the seven officials of how her son had died in Cambodia believing he was fighting for his home and country, and now that country wanted to move his body from its grave to build a dam.

"We're sorry we can't let you have [a dam] here," an elderly woman said to the men. "Can't you leave us alone? Can't you leave us alone, please?"

Persons present at the session saw little willingness to go along with any of the government's plans. But F. Phillip Sharpe, a BLR official who spoke to the press afterwards, said he thought the Yavapai/Apaches had "exhibited a willingness to be cooperative."

A few days after the meeting, the Tucson *Daily Star* editorialized: "The Indian and the white man view land and its ownership differently . . . but the white man's technology has allowed his views to prevail and he has forced his way on the Indian – usually in the name of progress. Orme Reservoir will be built. At this point, there can be little doubt of it. History is too good a teacher to ignore the inevitability of it all. . . The Pimas and the Yavapai/Apaches may find a new land, only to be displaced again and again until there are no more of them to remove."

Caroline Butler of Scottsdale, outraged at the whole removal program, began to organize a citizen's group to help the tribal members in their opposition to the project.

"The Indians are told the project is needed because Arizona is short on water," Mrs. Butler said in a letter writing campaign to local papers. "But on the very boundary of their reservation is the 'new community' of Fountain Hills, where the government has allowed the white man to construct the world's highest fountain, now rising 560 feet from an island base in a 30-acre artificial lake, and towering over a mile-long street with a series of 100 other fountains, waterfalls and pools. What kind of a double standard is this?" she asked.

As is the custom, government officials say there are no alternate sites and solutions, and that it is in the "national interests" that the Yavapai/Apache give up their lands.

The move has caused division in the tribe – the same division that is cropping up more and more often on reservations throughout the United States. About 90% of the people are resisting the move under any circumstances. But the tribal council leaders seem to favor the move and use their energies to negotiate for a better settlement, rather than to oppose the dam.

So far, negotiations between the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Reclamation, and Bureau of Land Management with the tribal council, have produced no settlement. The bargaining terms of the government center principally around money – lots of money.

To the bureaucrats, the opposition of the Yavapai/Apaches seems insignificant and out-of-date. There is the problem of flooding of cemeteries, for instance.

"The graveyard means a lot to our tribe," says John Smith, a 67-year-old Yavapai. "I do not know how our people will sleep when the dead are covered up. To white men, this means nothing. But it's down deep in our souls."

And there is the matter of employment and access to Phoenix. Even now the reservation is 27 miles from Phoenix – and a move across the lake could isolate them 10 to 15 miles more, over a very rough road.

"We're very bitter about it," Smith says. "We love the place and have been here all our lives. It's the same old story – we are promised a lot, but get very little."

If you agree to the assumption that money is equal to land, then the U.S. has been generous in its offers. The Bureau of Reclamation has promised $2,000 per acre for the 16,000 acres they propose to take by power of eminent domain (expropriation) – and in addition, they have offered to give the Yavapai/Apaches another 2500 acres elsewhere, minimum standard housing for everyone displaced, and some use of recreational facilities to be created by the new lake.

Gilbert Jones is the Ft. McDowell tribal council chairman. He favors the move, and hopes that the tribal council can spell out attractive terms in the contract. Many of the tribal members say Jones is a "sell-out."

Jones said there was no danger any harm would come. 'Everything we want and get will be in black and white because we have learned from our past mistakes with the government," he says.

The Fort McDowell reservation was set up by Theodore Roosevelt's executive order of September 15, 1903, giving the military reservation to Yavapais when they returned from San Carlos, where they had been confined.

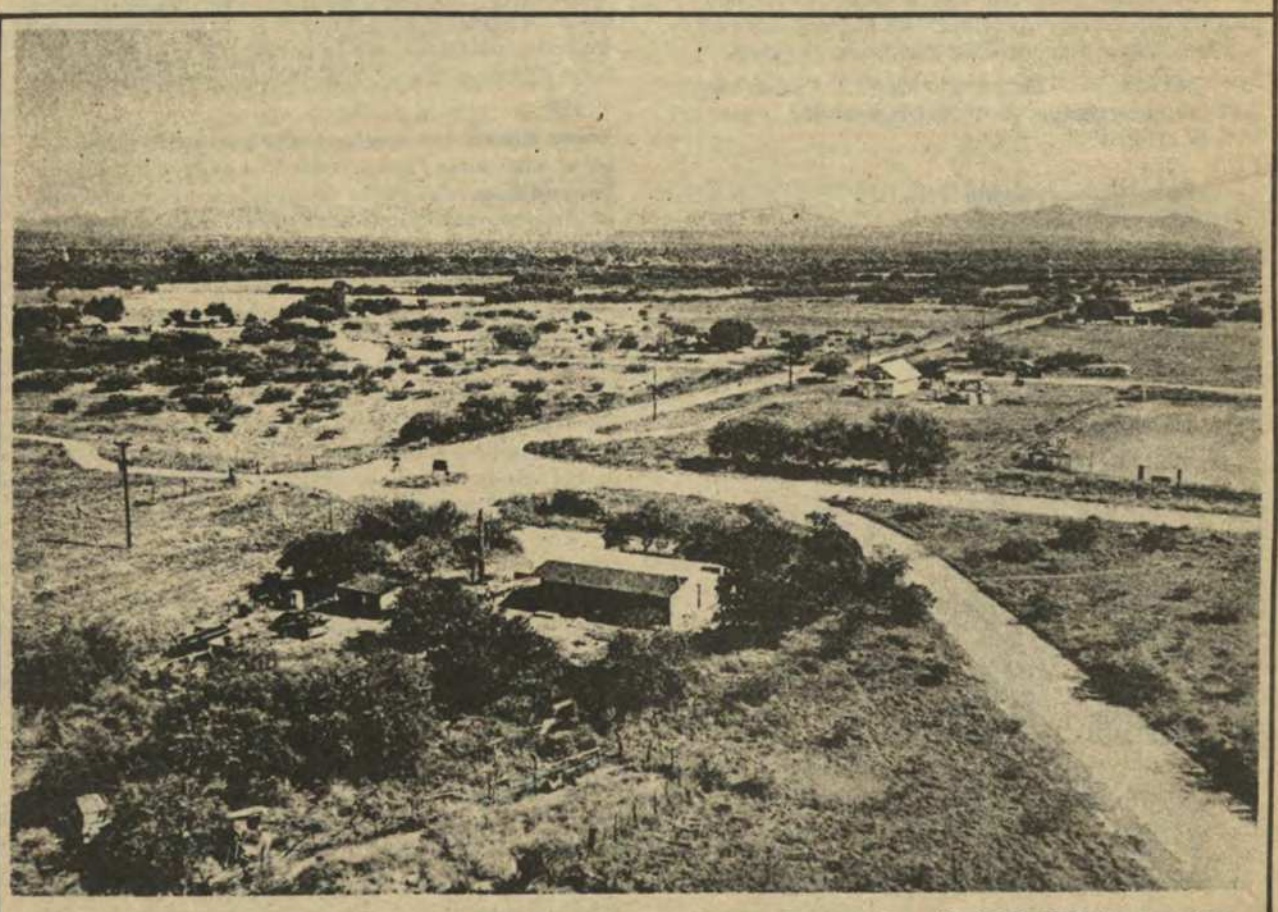
Under the government's proposal, somewhere between $15-million and $30-million would be paid to the tribal council. There are about 60 families on the reservation. And they are turning the offer down, so far.

"You may say, with money, anything can be done," Ben Kill, tribal council member says. "Possibly with the white man, but not with the Indian," he asserts.

In May, the tribal council fired its attorney, George Song, because he didn't help them take a strong position against the dam.

The feeling of most tribal members was summed up by Andrew Johnson. "Put a dollar in one hand, and put dirt in the other . . . the soil will last longer than the dollar."

(Thanks to Mary Ellen Simonson of The New Times, an alternate paper in the Tucson/Tempe area, Dennis Carroll of the Scottsdale Daily Progress, Tom Kuhn, and the Associated Press for information used here.)



—Scottsdale Daily Progress photo

Reservation residential area, tribal council headquarters, to be flooded by Orme Dam Project

Environmentalists Resist Return Of Havasupai Land

Havasupai children . . . where will there be room for them?

—photo by Terry Eiler & Lyntha Scott Eiler

Supai, Arizona — Senate hearings will be held this summer on legislation which would return to the Havasupai People land which was stolen from it by the United States during the last century.

Although the Havasupai are asking for the return of only a portion of their historic lands, the legislation is running into heavy flak from environmental groups — most of the land is part of the Grand Canyon National Park.

A bill permitting the return, S1296, was introduced by Arizona Republican Senator Barry Goldwater in late March. It would return 169,000 acres, not quite as much as the tribal council had asked for by some 15,000 acres, but still the Havasupai are hopeful for passage since they are virtually landless at this time. The tribe lives at the bottom of the Grand Canyon.

All of the Grand Canyon Park's south rim lies on Havasupai land. Various U.S. decrees in 1866, 1880, 1882, 1893, and 1909 and 1919 gradually shrunk the reservation to nothingness. But return of the land has caused environmentalists to fear big development would occur, even if not by the Indians themselves, by those who would exploit the Indians, such as has happened with pueblos in New Mexico.

"Restitution of your ancient lands cannot be the instrument through which to mete out justice," Joal Rodack, head of Arizonans for Quality Environment (AQE), wrote to the Havasupais. "You must realize that opening the smallest portion of our preserved lands to commercial use creates the precedent through which the special interests will seek to destroy the entire structure of our national preserves. No such commercial use must be permitted. Not a single acre!"

But the Havasupai people say that they have to have more land — or become extinct. "For 90 years, our people have failed to make a living on the 518 acres the government left us," said Oscar Paya, Havasupai tribal council chairman. "Ever since 1919, we have been trying to get our old plateau lands back where we used to live. We buried our old people on these plateau lands, we keep homes there still, and we know of sacred places there. We lived there for 1200 years. The plateau is the only place we can pasture our horses."

The Sierra Club has also lobbied against the bill, also because of the feeling that somehow, somewhere, the motives of those who would return land to the Indians is not all that pure — it might be easier to get land leased back from the Indians for development, for instance, than from the National Park Service.

"It is a great mistake to think the tribe wishes return of these lands in order to make economic developments there," the tribal newspaper, *Canyon Shadows*, said in a recent edition. "Anyone who has bothered to know anything about the Havasupai people knows these lands are precious to them, more precious than they could ever be to Sunday hikers like Rodack and McComb (of AQE and Sierra Club.)"

The Havasupais urge the following action by those who support the return of their land. The Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, chaired by Alan Bible, senator from Nevada, must initially consider the bill. His address is 3106 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510. Other members of that committee are Henry Jackson, J. Bennett Johnston, Frank Church, Clifford P. Hansen, Mark O. Hatfield, and James A. McClure. And letters to Senator Goldwater encouraging further action on the bill would be helpful — as well as senators of your own states, who eventually must vote on the legislation. The Havasupais ask that the senators be told that all their permit lands should be returned — including the 160-acre residency area at Grand Canyon and the Great Thumb area.

The conservationists who should be helping the bill, rather than opposing it, according to the Havasupais, might also be helped to believe that the tribal wishes correspond with enlightened environmental ideals. They can be reached at Joel Rodack, AQE, Box 17117, Tucson, Arizona 85710, and to John McComb, Sierra Club, 2014 East Broadway, Tucson, Arizona 85719.

The Havasupai Tribal Council position paper appears elsewhere on this page.

The Havasupai people usually receive attention only because of the unique location of their reservation: on the floor of the Grand Canyon. While the uniqueness gets the publicity, the most striking fact does not: the ancestral lands of the Havasupai have shrunk from some three million or more acres of what is now western Coconino County to just 519 acres, surrounded completely by National Park.

Traditionally, the Havasupai wintered on the plateaux, and migrated to several lower canyon springs and creeks to farm during the summer months. This meant that nearly all Anglo contacts with them had occurred in Havasu Canyon when they were accessible, and thus Anglo officials concluded this was their only home. So in 1880, President Rutherford B. Hayes established by executive order a 5 mile by 12 mile reservation, which took in only Havasu Canyon and a few surrounding headlands. The next year, Army engineers began resurveying the reservation, and in 1882, Chester A. Arthur, an obscure U.S. president, rescinded the 1880 order and reduced the Havasupai lands to just 519 acres, including the barren talus slopes in addition to the canyon floor. Why he took the action is not certain although it is known prospectors had just found lead deposits within the original larger reservation area.

Lemanuel Paya, now 76, remembers his grandfather's words about what happened at that time. "This government man came to talk to the chief. He said 'You Indian tribe are not supposed to make a home two places. You can't be up there and down here. You've got to stay put. In order to stop this you stay here and do your farming.' . . . The government man told our chief to keep his people from going off this place or they will put him in jail. So that's how come we forgot about claiming more land on the plateau. We got scared of that. And now all the young people think we just always sit down here and farm."

The current move to reclaim land came in 1971, when the Havasupai learned of a National Park Service plan to expand Park holdings, and to remove permit areas for grazing from tribal use. Former tribal council chairman Lee Marshall and others testified vigorously against the plan at public hearings later that year. They also developed their own plan about what land should be added to the reservation — that is, what part of their own land they would keep, and what they would release.

A compromise plan developed by the Forest Service and Park Service was regarded as disastrous by the Havasupai. The Bureau of Indian Affairs warned that if the tribal council didn't agree to this plan, they might be shut out entirely, and reluctantly, the plan was accepted.

However, the U.S. reneged on its agreements in the plan and the deal fell flat. Finally, tribal chairman Oscar Paya telegrammed Senator Goldwater to come to the Grand Canyon for a meeting with them.

The Senator accepted the invitation. It is his bill that will expand the Park, and after meeting with the Havasupai in the village's little stone meeting hall, he agreed to incorporate most of the Havasupai demands in the legislation. However, he warned that he would require public support for the measure. This, he advised, could be the key to the issue.

So now there is new hope radiating from the floor of the Grand Canyon. Whether that hope is justified will rest in large part on whether the American people will get the U.S. Congress to recognize the just demands of the Canyon's first — and only — residents.

(This is the position paper of the Havasupai Tribal Council, Supai, Arizona 86435, on the return of Havasupai land.)

Who are the intruders in the Grand Canyon area?

Our legends say the Havasupai were created on these lands of the South Rim. They do not tell of coming here. After our creation, we scattered over the plateau, and eventually came to use Havasu Canyon as a farming area. . .

Hopi tradition depicts us as the keepers of the Grand Canyon, and its sacred places. The Hopi people tell of the Cohnin (Havasupai) Kachina spirit embodying our guardian function . . .

In the 1880s, we were driven to this tiny canyon farm where we now live. At that time, prospectors invading our area had hopes of getting rich from materials they believed to be on our lands. The greed behind these men drove our peaceful people from their ancient lands.

We feel it is wrong to perpetuate this injustice. We never agreed to the situation we find ourselves in — we were threatened with imprisonment if we left the canyon. In 1920, 1943, and now again, we continue our struggle to regain some part of our former lands. . . We realize that regaining all these lands is now impossible — but we have a right to expect enough to provide for the well-being of our people.

We hear of the Park Service's need to protect the Grand Canyon for future tourists and of the Forest Service's need to maintain the multiple-use possibilities of its lands. We alone must live and support ourselves on this land; we alone are residents here rather than visitors. We can only support ourselves by the inclusion of usable grazing and farming lands into our reservation. Failing this, we can only survive on government hand-outs. We reject this solution. Charity is demoralizing and the need for 90 years of it is demoralizing us.

Therefore, what the Grand Canyon bill must include is:

1. Return of all the Park and Forest Services' Havasupai grazing allotments and other permit areas to the Havasupai people as part of our reservation . . . [They are ours], they include places sacred to us for the Havasupai burial grounds and homes and the materials found there and they include the only usable grazing areas available to us. We have no wish to share these areas with the uninvited, who might well abuse these places.

2. Permanent establishment of the 160-acre Havasupai area at Grand Canyon Village as a separate piece of our reservation. Located within the Park are four sacred materials that we guard for all Indian people; we must have access rights to these materials, and we should have the right to use Indian Gardens, where we lived for so many hundreds of years. The Havasupai area is a symbol to us — once Indian Gardens and the South Rim were our home. They were taken but the National Park Service has no need to drive us away like some annoyance, as it has tried to do for several decades now. Grand Canyon, an area where we always welcomed our friends and visitors — is closed to us, its original inhabitants. The 160 acres on top, located in an area unused by anyone but our people, represents a tiny concession from the Park, but a great one to us.

3. Return to us of the 1866 Atlantic & Pacific Railroad indemnity land grants. By 1943, the Interior Department had recognized the reversion of these sections to the Havasupai Tribe as well as supporting restoration of our grazing permit lands to tribal ownership. Despite this, passage of a Congressional bill enacting the return was blocked by Congressman John P. Murdock. . .

4. Return of Havasu Campground to the Havasupai Reservation. As long as this campground remains under National Park Service control so is a great part of our life. This is our home. The present situation is unfair by any standards and can lead only to continued friction with the National Park Service. . .

The Havasupai Tribal Council

Oscar Paya, Tribal Chairman
Clark Jack Jr., vice-chairman
Leon Rogers
Erwin Crook
Lloyd Hanna
Stanley Manakaja
Augustine Hanna

RACISM, ARIZONA & NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque, New Mexico – Native peoples in New Mexico and Arizona suffer from grim living conditions and deplorable employment discrimination, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights charges in a report issued here in mid-May.

The commission's strongly-worded indictment was based on hearings held here and in Phoenix last year. The report also charges abuse by federal government policies.

Maurice B. Mitchell, chancellor of the University of Denver, who headed the hearings, said the report documents denials of equal rights or equal opportunity in education, employment, health care, water rights, and the administration of justice to Indians. They are denied these rights, he said, "because they are Indians and because they have asserted their fundamental right to remain Indians.

The commission report made findings of fact in the following areas:

–*Employment:* "The record of Indian employment by federal, state, and local governments (in New Mexico and Arizona) is deplorable," and the two largest employers of Indians, the BIA and the Indian Health Service, both have a pattern of discrimination, hiring Indians mostly to lower-level positions. Although some reservations had unemployment rates as high as 70%, private employers on reservations frequently hired non-Indians for reservation projects, the report states.

–*Education:* The failure of public and BIA schools in Indian education has been documented. The commission recommended more direct participation by Indian parents in the educational processes, and said that Indian personnel at all levels of BIA schools should be increased.

Health Care: "Indians in both New Mexico and Arizona receive less adequate health care and treatment than is received by the non-Indian population in those states. Most, if not all of this responsibility rests with the federal government." It urged further investigation of persistent reports that county hospitals don't admit or treat Indians on an equal basis with non-Indians.

– *Administration of Justice:* The commission urged the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate reports that Indian prisoners in Arizona are being used for public labor in violation of federal peonage laws. It recommended that the Justice Department increase its staff to investigate alleged crime on reservations to overcome the widespread belief among Indians that the U.S. isn't providing adequate law enforcement protection. In addition, there are problems of double standards, police brutality, and poor jail conditions.

– *Water Rights:* "It is the responsibility of the federal government as trustee for Indian lands to protect [water rights]. This the federal government has failed to do." The commission recommended that all water rights be inventoried and that appropriate congressional action be taken to restore rights that have been lost.

– *Property Rights:* The commission found a fundamental conflict of interest in the Department of Justice and Department of Interior, and suggested the only way the conflict can be avoided is to establish an independent Indian Trust Counsel Authority with the sole duty of protecting Indian property & water rights.

Mitchell said the findings of the commission illustrate that it is "literally impossible for most Indian families today to have a standard of living which most other Americans took for granted long ago."

He said the Indian's life is characterized by "high infant death rates, short life expectancy, diseases related to malnutrition and poor sanitary services, high suicide rates, high alcoholism rates, and other mental health problems. The federal government is primarily responsible for these conditions."

The entire five-member commission was present for the release of the report. Other members include Stephen Horn, president of California State University at Long Beach, Frankie M. Freeman, a St. Louis attorney; Robert S. Rankin, professor emeritus of political science at Duke University; and Manuel Ruiz Jr., a Los Angeles attorney. The commission is an independent, bipartisan fact-finding agency authorized by law to study the rights of minorities and women.

Joseph Muskrat, director of the commission's regional office in Denver, told a Denver press conference that Indians "are the most politically emasculated people in the country today."

Employment Discrimination at Ajo

There was a long pause following the question, then the manager of Phelps Dodge Corporation's copper mine at Ajo, Arizona, said, yes, his company had assigned its substandard employee housing to Indians.

But the company is "far along in an effort to integrate its housing," he said.

How long has it taken the copper giant to integrate housing for Indian employees, now numbering 96 out of 1,258 workers, the counsel for the commission wanter to know.

"Since 1964," said mine attorney John Boland.

"I'm even more disturbed if it's taken eight years," interjected commissioner Freeman, who was chairperson for the hearing.

Commission counsel John Powell Jr. told mine manager D.H. Orr that his mine is located next to one of the largest Indian reservations in the country, and asked:

"Do you feel any sense of responsibility to provide employment opportunities for the Indian people?"

Orr said he did.

"Do you think 96 employees is carrying out that obligation?" Powell queried.

Orr paused again, then said quietly, "Apparently not."

"We've recently discovered our recruiting approach cannot be the same for Indians as it is for other people," conceded John Breen, employment agent for Phelps Dodge.

"In other words, you are telling us that your company has been in Ajo for 40 years and still has not learned how to deal with the people who've lived there for several hundred years?" the commission counsel asked.

Many non-Indian employers who were subpoenaed to testify emphasized that they treated Indians the same as all other people.

"You obviously don't understand the law requires you to take affirmative action for hiring minority employees " Powell said to one company representatives.

Mrs. Freeman said she was impressed by the beauty of Phoenix, and at the contrasts in the city.

There is so much wealth and affluence, and yet so many lack even the basic needs of life," she said. "We did not come here to embarrass Arizona. We hope this will be a beginning to solving problems."

Ella Rumley, board chairman of the American Indian Association, said that only two Indians are employed at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, and that job opportunities for Indians in Tucson "are really for menial labor." She said Indians do not hold sales positions, nor are there any secretaries or clerk-typists.

Gus Greymountain charged the city of Phoenix with racism in the city's employment practices, as well as treatment of Indians arrested for alcohol-related crimes. He noted that only 51 of the 5,000 city employees are Indians.

Carol Parvello, a behavioral consultant at the Tucson Indian Center, said that there are 2,487 City of Tucson employees, but only 26 are Indians. In Pima County, she said there are 17 Indians employed out of a total of 2,453.

"Phillip Celaya Shooting Case will be Reopened"

Commissioner Freeman said that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights would ask the U.S. Justice Department to launch a new investigation into last summer's shooting of Phillip Celaya, a young Papago from Ajo.

A Tucson superior court judge exonerated the sheriff's deputies in the shooting after an inquest.

Mark Wilson of the Papago Cultural Center in Tucson testified that the Pima County sheriff's deputies "deliberately intimidate the Papagos in Ajo. The deputies feel the Papagos are docile and subservient because they don't resist. "

Celaya was shot to death July 1. Sheriff's deputies said he took a gun from a deputy and opened fire before they shot back and killed him. Witnesses disputed their testimony.

"The chief criminal attorney for Pima County said paraffin tests [which would have determined if Celaya had shot a gun recently] had not been taken of Celaya's hand because it would cost too much. He said the cost would be $2,000," Wilson said.

Another Tucson witness, the Rev. John M. Fife, testified that in South Tucson, Indians are arrested four to five times more often than their population in the community would suggest.

Some Indians said that the BIA takeover in Washington might not have happened if the Civil Rights Commission had been meeting over past years.

"Perhaps if we had had an opportunity such as this in the past to air our grievances, the unfortunate events which took place in Washington involving some of our Indian brothers could have been avoided," said Hubert Velarde, an Apache.

Pueblo People Testify at Civil Rights Hearing

EDUCATION

Ella Rumley testified that Tucson Indian youths primarily go to schools with Chicano children, and the Indians are largely ignored.

"We are finding high school graduates who cannot read or write," she said. "They are being pushed on from grade to grade."

Joy Hanley, director of elementary education for the Navajos, said that less than one per cent of the teachers on the Navajo reservation are Navajos.

Rick St. Germaine, chairman of the Indian Student Assn. at ASU, said Indians at ASU have the highest dropout rate of any minority on campus. He said the rate for last academic year was 45.7 per cent.

"The Health Situation is Really Deplorable"

In New Mexico, health care was also criticized as being inadequate. Indians from various tribes testified that insensitivity by non-Indian doctors, long periods of waiting in hospitals and clinics, poor diagnosis of illnesses and occasional instances of malpractice were major health problems.

Midway through the testimony, commission member Maurice B. Mitchell, chancellor of the University of Denver, said, "The Indian health situation is really deplorable. From everything we've heard, that assessment is not even arguable."

Two medical facilities, the Santa Fe Indian Hospital and the Bernalillo County Medical Center bore the brunt of numerous allegations of malpractice.

"We Have to Sit for Hours"

Several Indians testified in both cities that it is common for patients to "sit for hours" at Indian Health Service clinics before seeing a doctor. A Tucson Indian said she has known patients to die because they either could not get to clinics, or were superficially treated when they arrived with serious illnesses.

Dr. Charles McGammon, director of the Phoenix area Indian Health Service, said that because of understaffing and lack of funds, physicians spend an average of one minute with each Indian patient.

"There is inadequate quantity of service," he said. "The quality of service is very good."

The commission, on hearing allegations that county and municipal hospitals sometimes turn away qualified Indians seeking health care, noted that such practices in hospitals receiving federal funds are in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Antone Gonzales, president of the Colorado River Tribal Council, said sick Indians "sit for hours waiting for doctors to show up," and when the doctors arrive, he said, they "tell them to go back home and they'll be all right."

West Anderson, tribal vice-chairman of the West Mountain Apaches, said people on the reservation go to non-Indian hospitals if they can. But since few Apaches have money, "a good majority of the Indian people don't have any choice," Anderson said.

(continued on next page)

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He said a 23-year-old Apache was injured last summer, and when he went to the Whiteriver Indian Hospital, doctors gave him pills and said he was all right. When the Apache went back to the hospital for the third time, Anderson testified, he again was told he was all right. He died later that same day.

In another instance, Anderson told the commission, a 6-month-old baby was taken to the hospital several times "and all she was given was some pills and a shot." He said the baby's condition grew worse each time. On the fourth day, a private doctor said the baby was allergic to the shots and could have died if they had continued.

Michael Perez, a Pueblo, told the committee that a doctor at the Santa Fe Indian Hospital diagnosed his sister's ruptured appendix as "growing pains" and gave her pain killers. He said his sister's condition was properly diagnosed four days later by a physician at a private hospital.

Jim A. Coriz Jr. of Santa Fe testified that he took his mother to the same hospital, where doctors diagnosed her condition as a head cold, gave her some pills, and told her to stay in bed.

One week later, after her eye had swollen and her tear ducts were draining, she went to the hospital again, and a blood test was taken, Coriz said. But, he said, the doctor would not give him the results because it was the doctor's "day off." She later died following an operation at a private hospital during which a malignant tumor was found in her breast, he testified.

Wendell Chino, president of the Mescalero Apache Tribal Council, testified that one doctor gave him a cursory examination and sent him home with a temperature of 103. He said his illness of viral double pneumonia was diagnosed within five minutes by a private physician.

"Services should not be looked at with cloudy eyes, as if the Indian is just another welfare recipient," Chino said.

Dr. Richard Light, chief physician at the Santa Fe Indian Hospital, which lost its accreditation in 1971, testified it was hard for him to explain the alleged malpractice incidents without having looked at the records.

Dr. Kasumi Kasuga, director of the Albuquerque Indian Health Service, said it was "a surprise" to him when Indians testified that IHS doctors were not performing complete physical examinations on their patients.

Governor Bruce King didn't like what the commission members said about New Mexico. They had termed the plight of Indians in the state as the worst in the nation.

King demanded that the commission "publicly apologize to the people of New Mexico for the injustice you have done to them" and said their assertion was "irresponsible, unfactual, and divisive."

King also was critical because the commission had not accepted his offer to supply data regarding "the substantial accomplishments made during my administration" to better Indian living standards.

"I recommend that you spend your time back in Washington, D.C., straightening out the mess in the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well as cutting the bureaucratic red tape that so often hamstrings progress at the state level," the governor said.

A Pattern of Unemployment

Statistics were given the hearing by the Bureau of Indian Affairs that Indian unemployment is 36% in the Phoenix area, and 28% in the Albuquerque area. Statewide unemployment is 4.2% in Arizona, and just 6% in New Mexico.

Of the 43 reservations in the two states, 17 say that 40% or more of their residents are jobless.

Indians hold 17 per cent of the federal jobs in Arizona, but the great bulk are in the lowest grades of the Civil Service (GS 1 through 4).

In New Mexico, state agencies have 198 Indians among 10,557 employees, although Indians account for 7% of New Mexico's population. That's less than 2% of state jobs.

Bruce Porter, personnel director for Southwest Forest Industries which operates a large lumber mill and store on the White Mountain Apache reservation at McNary, Arizona, said that only 62 of 281 employees are Indian – and none in management. The plant uses trees from the reservation.

South of Casa Grande, Arizona, Hecla Mining Company is developing a huge copper mine right on the Papago Reservation. Jim H. Hunter, project manager, testified that the company employs 51 Indians in a work force of 550. A company personnel manager said Hecla has no formal program for encouraging Indian employment at the mine.

However, Sonya Shepherd, project manager for the Papago Mining Institute, testified that based on an oral agreement with Hecla, the company promised that Indians would account for 50 per cent of the employees if the mine would be located on their land.

Shepherd said transportation was one of the biggest problems facing the Papagos and added that Hecla provides a shuttle service for non-Indian employees commuting from Casa Grande to the mine. The service is, however, privately-operated.

William Gremley, director of the Indian Special Emphasis program of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, said that none of Arizona's eight copper mining companies has an affirmative action program to hire Indians.

Gremley said there are a few industries among the 91 that border reservations in Arizona that are "contemptuously discriminatory." A few are aggressively hiring Indians, but most are "simply indifferent," he said.

He urged the commission to attempt to have the phrase "if qualified" removed from federal contracts that give hiring preference to Indians in some areas.

Mrs. Freeman said she has heard that phrase used against blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos in hearings across the nation. "I feel like I'm hearing a broken record," she commented after several employers said they hire Indians "if they are qualified." "What bothers me is that the word 'qualified' only applies to minorities. It is an excuse for discrimination."

Tony Escalante, labor coordinator for the Papago Tribal Council, said the unemployment rate on the reservation is about 60 per cent. Based on a survey he compiled, Escalante said 47% of the Papagos want some kind of training program for jobs.

Shepherd testified that there are about 8,000 mining jobs within a reasonable commuting distance of the reservation, but only about 200 Indians have jobs with those mines, and most of those are low paying.

One of the problems aired was that some employers, including government agencies, were complying with quotas for hiring minority peoples by taking on Blacks and Spanish-speaking people – but not Indians. However, their contracts and practices were being approved because the "minority quota" was all right.

"American Indians don't even get the crumbs, much less a piece of the pie," commented Thomas Robles, director of the Albuquerque office of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The Post Office hires 34 Indians in New Mexico out of 2,573 employees, and 34 out of more than 5,000 in Arizona.

Civil Rights or Tribal Sovereignty?

Occasionally, the whole concept of civil rights can backfire when they are turned away from the outside culture, and applied to Indian communities themselves. Recently, two Santa Clara Pueblo women sued pueblo officials, saying their civil rights had been violated.

They had married non-pueblo members. Tribal custom is that women take on the tribe of their husbands, but non-pueblo women who marry pueblo men are expected to join their husbands. This, the women said in their suit, constituted an "illegally discriminatory public housing program."

Their case was not brought before the commission, but instead is being heard in U.S. District Court. They are Julia Martinez and Audrey Martinez, and say that since the project was built with federal funds, it must not discriminate. Pueblo officials fear that if the women receive a favorable ruling, it might open the pueblo to all non-Indians.

(Thanks to Theodore A. Rushton of the Tucson Citizen's Phoenix Bureau, the Associated Press, the New York Times News Service, Athia Hardt, Joel Nilsson of the Arizona Star, Paul Delaney of the New York Times, and Howard Armstrong for his special report to The Washington Post.)

A New Kind Of Massacre

Carlin, Nevada – In Spring Valley, between the Creek and Snake ranges on the eastern edge of central Nevada, there is a stand of pinon-juniper trees. The patch of green looks from far away like a council of tree spirts, gathered to discuss something important amidst the monotony of the brown, grass-covered valley floor. Motorists on Highway 50 can see it to their left just before they climb over 7100 feet on Sacramento Pass on their way to Utah.

This stand of trees marks the spot where, nearly ninety years ago, the U.S. Cavalry perpetrated the last massacre of the western Shoshone and Goshute peoples. As the native peoples tell it the few survivors without bullets in their backs could still hear rifle fire behind them as they scrambled over Sacramento Pass to hiding places in the Snake Range. As the history books treat it, the event is not even worth mentioning.

Now there is a new kind of massacre.

The plants and animals are being poisoned, uprooted, and driven off. The main target is the pinyon, supplier of firewood, housebeams, lodgepoles, and food to the native people.

In winter, pine nuts are mashed and cooked into a gravy that is poured over meat. Or they are baked in small cakes and eaten as a staple. Or they are roasted and eaten straight from the shell. In food value, a one-ounce portion of pine nuts supplies more vitamin B_1, vitamin C, protein, iron and calories than any other single fruit, vegetable, nut or meat. Shoshones and Goshutes refer to the pinyon stands as their "orchards."

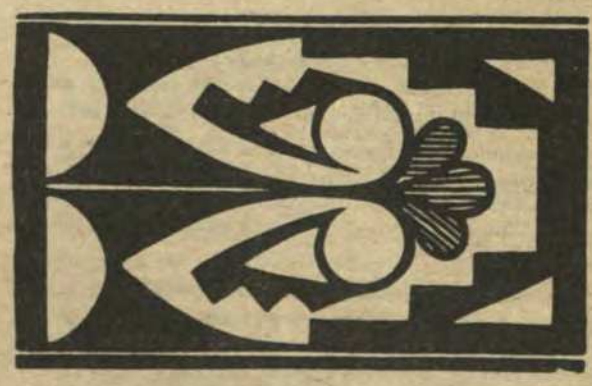
The Bureau of Land Management of the Department of Interior considers pinyon trees as "undesirable species." To date, the BLM and the U.S. Forest Service have uprooted 52,000 acres of pinyon-juniper forest in the state of Nevada.

Most of this destruction has been accomplished by drawing 100 feet of Navy-surplus anchor chain between two or three crawler bulldozers. As the chain is drawn along the ground, it tears the trees out of the ground and fells them.

Supposedly, this makes the world safe for cattle and sheep forage. However, most chained areas have not been reseeded, and weeds and noxious plants invade the jungle of dead limbs and struggling regrowth. Pinyon does not decay: a chemical ingredient in the wood keeps it virtually intact.

"They won't even let the Indians take the wood away," says chief Frank Temoke of the Western Shoshone Nation.

Funds for chaining come from money appropriated by Congress to improve wildlife habitat – but no deer seem to inhabit the destroyed areas. Reports detailling the blunders do not seem to be read – for instance the report on BLM contract number 14-11-0001-3779.



Native people have protested the mismanagement and destruction since 1959, and they are particularly irritated by the BLM policy of taxing the harvesting of pine-nuts by native peoples. The trees grow on land, which, they believe, belong to them. Legally, the lands are classified both as treaty lands and public lands.

Frank Temoke, Rolling Thunder, and Oscar Johnny of the Western Shoshone Nation are asking for public support in their campaign to get the destruction halted. They suggest letters to the secretary of Interior, and to congressmen would be useful.

A Medical System On Trial

Gallup, New Mexico – A significant political victory for native and natural peoples was won in Gallup on May 25 in the trial of the Gallup Six when a jury of peers returned acquittal verdicts on serious charges arising from the occupation of the Indian Hospital here in January.

The issue behind the occupation, as brought out in the trial, was the quality of medical care provided to Indian people throughout the United States, and particularly at the Gallup Indian Medical Center. The first floor administrative section of that building was occupied on January 28.

That night, John and Victor Cutnose, Woody Foster, and Michael Upshaw met at the hospital parking lot. Three of them carried rifles as a protection against a possible wild over-reaction from the Gallup Police Department.

Woody Foster carried only his sleeping bag. He refused to bring a weapon, because of his religious beliefs and the idea that "the gun is a white man's tool."

The occupation had been sparked because of the men's feelings over the care received by Sally Cutnose, Victor's wife. She had been pregnant when she received serious injuries in a head-on auto crash at 60 mph. During the trial, references to allegedly inadequate medical care she received at the medical center (which is operated by the U.S. Public Health Service) were ruled "irrelevant and immaterial." But enough information slipped through so that the jury knew what had happened.

The men had entered the hospital quietly, told the staff to carry on their normal duties, but not to call the police. Shortly after, however, police were informed.

Two freelance photographers, Richard Giron and Samuel Fletcher, saw all the police cars at the hospital and stopped to see what was going on. They managed to get inside to cover the story – and found themselves charged with criminal trespass after the occupation was over.

Believing they would be good prosecution witnesses, the district attorney dropped charges against them, and threatened contempt of court proceedings against them if they did not produce as evidence the photographs they had taken. There was an argument over the use of independent news media personnel as an investigating arm of the prosecutor's office, and the forced taking of unpublished news material, but when State District Judge Frank Zinn indicated that contempt charges were imminent, the pictures were turned over to the state – and they proved to be very helpful to the defense.

The pictures showed that while the men held guns, they were not pointed at police officers, contradicting testimony from the officers that their lives had been endangered. Both Giron and Fletcher said they never saw anyone point guns at the hospital personnel in an attempt to intimidate them.

When the police arrived at the hospital, evidence showed, two officers ran inside the lobby, loading their shotguns on the way up the outside ramp. Dr. Charles London, the doctor on night duty, immediately ran down to stop them from coming any further, fearing that the police would come storming in looking for a shoot-out.

"If Dr. London had not been there right at that moment there would have been some heavy shooting," officer Murray Ellson, a white policeman just back from Vietnam, said to one of the investigators in the case.

The defendants were represented by attorneys Sander N. Karp of Denver and Michael G. Rosenberg of Albuquerque, assisted by John L. Walker. All three men donated time and services on behalf of the National Lawyers' Guild.

In both opening and closing statements, Sandy Karp told the jury that the real issue was medical care for native peoples. Woody Foster and Michael Upshaw said they had gone to the hospital that night because they had heard there was going to be a demonstration – their own experiences in the medical center had made them eager to demonstrate for change. Both are Navajo, living on Navajo Nation lands.

Victor Cutnose, a Cheyenne/Oglala, was asked directly by Sandy Karp if he was a member of the American Indian Movement. He replied, "Yes. For 32 years." When asked what he meant by that, he said, "I was born into it."

Victor Cutnose said he had gone to the hospital because he believed improper and inadequate treatment had almost killed his wife and yet-to-be-born child. He had checked his wife out and taken her to a private physician. At the time of the demonstration, he had been an employee of the hospital's housekeeping department for about two months.

– photo by Richard Giron & Sam Fletcher

Victor Cutnose during occupation of PHS hospital

During the occupation, Victor had several discussions by telephone with the local PHS director in Window Rock and the Gallup hospital director. The officials were ordered not to go to the hospital personally to discuss the problems of medical care.

The jury who heard the case was made up of 6 Indians, 3 Chicanos, one Black woman, and two Anglo women. Apparently when deliberations started, the jury was split about 7-5 in favor of acquitting on all charges. The two white women wanted to convict on every charge. After calling for the photographs, however, the jury agreed to acquit Victor Cutnose on both the charge of aggravated assault, and that of aggravated assault on police officers (carrying possible sentences of 2-10 years) but found him guilty of a petty misdemeanor charge of assault on a hospital security guard.

Observers were noting, however, that the jury had not bought the prosecution's theory that a group of wild Indians went to the hospital to take it over and disrupt service. And the jury had seemed impressed by the political argument of poor medical care – several of the Indian jurors had experienced that for themselves firsthand. Some jurors wanted to know why the hospital officials had not gone over to discuss the situation with the demonstrators.

The case seemed to bring new hope to the hundreds of native people now facing charges arising from politically motivated demonstrations – perhaps if they are able to get a jury of their peers, they will find more sympathetic treatment than from the usual all-white faces impassively judging the destiny of native peoples.

When Judge Zinn passed sentence, he ordered Victor Cutnose to spend 90 days in jail. Woody Foster and Michael Upshaw were each sentenced to ten days in jail, but John Cutnose didn't show up for the trial and will have a separate trial.

(Thanks to the Associated Press for information used here, and to Seer's Catalog and John Walker for information used here. Seer's Catalog is a New Mexico alternate paper, published at 4207 San Isidro NW, Albuquerque, New Mexico.)

– photo by Tony

FTC FINDS SOME TRADING POSTS GUILTY OF 'ECONOMIC SLAVERY'

Washington, D.C. – Trading posts on Navajo reservations in the Southwest are keeping native people in a state of economic slavery through a combination of usery, inflated prices, and outright cheating, according to a newly-completed U.S. Government report.

The report – the latest in a long series of findings charting the abuses against native peoples – was prepared by the Federal Trade Commission's Los Angeles office. The agency held hearings on the reservation late last summer in response to Navajo complaints, and a request from former BIA commissioner Louis R. Bruce.

The FTC was sharply critical of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and recommended that governing powers be transfered away from the U.S. Government and to the native people.

Among the abuses, the report noted that trading post prices exceed the national average by 27 per cent generally, and sometimes as much as 60%. A pound of coffee averaged $1.25 on the reservation, with variations from $1 to $2.25. Compounding this are overcharges, and outright theft of pawned goods.

One of the worst credit practices, the report says, involves the interception of Social Security and welfare checks by trading post operators, who then get the Navajos to sign them over to pay off their debts. New credit often will not be extended unless the Indians agree.

"Often the customer is not even shown the amount of the check," the report added. "The trader may obscure the dollar amount with his hand or lay the check face down on the counter . . . If the Navajo insists on obtaining his check, he may be confronted with threats of withdrawn credit."

The FTC found that the single most alarming aspect of the trading post system, however, is the "credit saturation" imposed on Indians by traders who make sure the Navajo never has any cash and thus is compelled to make the trading post his only source of supply. The trader extends credit up to a Navajo's known income, placing him in a state of "economic indenture," it said.

When complaints arise, the Navajo is told he can go buy his necessities at another post which often is more than 100 miles away over a bad road.

The report recommended consumer education programs in the Navajo language, strengthening of rules governing the traders, and a BIA regulation to prohibit trading post operators from opening the Indians' mail – apparently postal regulations are not strict enough in this respect.

And to correct the "feeble enforcement" by the BIA of laws regarding Indian traders, the FTC recommended that authority for the trading post system be "granted to the Navajo Tribe," which would control licensing.

The report also recommended that outrageous interest rates be eliminated by establishing a maximum of 24% per annum.

A system of cooperatives could be established, the FTC notes, which would replace the antiquated trading post system. At one cooperative already going, prices are 32% lower than at the nearest trading post, and the quality of goods and services is much higher.

The FTC surveyed 142 trading posts, talked to over 100 Navajo consumers, and held public hearings to compile its findings. The report was made public in mid-June.

(Thanks to Michael J. Conlon of the United Press International and Bailey Morris, staff-writer of the Washington Star-News for this information.)

FEDERAL COURT FINDS GALLUP SCHOOL SYSTEM GUILTY OF DISCRIMINATION

Gallup, New Mexico – The largest educator of Indian children in the United States, the Gallup/McKinley School District, has been found guilty of extensive discrimination against Indian students, and of misspending federal funds earmarked for Indian education.

The school district is located near the Navajo and Zuni reservations, and the plaintiffs in the case were several Navajo and Zuni students and their parents.

U.S. District Court Judge Howard C. Bratton found that a "serious inequality" existed between the 13 schools in the city of Gallup, and the 13 schools located in areas near the reservations. Most of the district's native students attend the outlying schools. Bratton, in a 40-page opinion, said that the schools in Gallup have superior facilities, while the rural schools are overcrowded and "have facilities in need of replacement."

Bratton also found the district guilty of illegally spending federal Title I and Johnson-O'Malley funds. Title I funds, as stipulated in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, are to be used only for educationally deprived students, and Johnson-O'Malley money is to be used exclusively for Indian education. Bratton found in several instances these funds had been used to support general district needs, rather than for their specific purposes. The judge ordered a stop to the illegal expenditures, and gave the district 30 days to submit a plan to eliminate the discrimination against the Indian students.

(Thanks to the Race Relations Reporter, a publication for the media put out by the Race Relations Information Center.)

NAVAJO COMMUNITY COLLEGE IS SUFFERING GROWING PAINS

(When William Trombley of the Los Angeles Times came to the Navajo Community College at Many Farms near Chinle, Arizona, he interviewed a number of staff people. Four of them were fired, apparently because of their comments to the reporter. Richard Manson, Joe Bigelow, Don Englishman and Ken Nuendorf have been told their contract would not be renewed.

(Asked whether the action of the college was due to this article, Board of Regents Chairman Guy Gorman said, "Some, yes." Another instructor, Ben Barney, a Navajo, said his contract is in doubt.

(Nuendorf has said of the article that in some ways it gave the impression that the Navajos couldn't run the school, which, he said, is obviously untrue. This is Trombley's article below.)

Many Farms, Arizona — Navajo Community College, America's first Indian-organized and operated institution of higher learning, is suffering severe growing pains.

When the college opened four years ago, hopes were high that the Navajos not only would succeed with their own school, but also would set an example for other tribes, helping to end the Indians' almost total isolation from American higher education.

Today hopes are still high, but they have been tempered with an array of serious problems. Among them:

— student drinking and fighting forced the college to close for several days last fall.

— of 3,421 students who have enrolled at the Navajo Community College since it opened, including 1,828 full-time students, only 46 have graduated.

— serious differences of opinion about the nature and purpose of the college have divided faculty and staff into feuding factions.

These problems are aggravated by the bleakness of the college setting. While awaiting completion of the new $30-million campus at Tsaile, the NCC shares facilities with a high school run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the tiny community of Many Farms.

The high school is a series of ugly green buildings which look as if they had been dropped by plane onto the red clay and sandstone terrain. Not a blade of grass nor a bush grows on the campus, which turns into a sea of mud in the winter rain and snow.

One of these buildings, dormitory 9, was the scene of events last Thanksgiving which triggered the most serious crisis in the college's brief history.

There is little for students to do at NCC. There is no town to visit. Movies are shown in the local community center only once a week. A lively 19-year-old can only play so much ping-pong or pool.

Some of the bored students turn to drink, others to drugs. Drinking is forbidden at the college, but last fall, bootleggers were supplying as much as students could afford to buy, backing their trucks up the back door of Dormitory 9 to unload in the middle of the night.

One of the basic unresolved questions is whether NCC exists primarily to train Navajos for jobs and professions or whether its main purpose is to perpetuate Navajo culture and tradition.

"The tribal council saw that many young Navajos were not learning their traditions and did not know the Navajo arts and crafts," said president Thomas E. Atcitty, 38, who stepped in as president last October after the former president died in a gun accident. "They foresaw that someplace in the future, our culture would be gone, so an important purpose of this college is to preserve this culture."

Atcitty said he saw no conflict between the two goals, but in fact, they seem to clash.

If the chief purpose of the college is to perpetuate Navajo tradition, then it does not matter that many of the students cannot read well enough and do not possess the other skills needed to do college work.

But if the college is supposed to train people for jobs and professions, then the large number of unqualified students becomes a formidable obstacle. Although Arizona's public universities have agreed to accept Navajo Community College credits, only 20 to 25 students have transferred in four years.

Nor have the college's vocational and technical programs been any more successful. The hope is that such courses will enable Navajos to fill some of the jobs on and around the reservation now held by Anglos, and thereby reduce the staggering 60% unemployment rate among the Navajo males.

But lack of facilities and other problems have slowed development of these courses. The auto mechanics instructor quit recently, and little welding instruction is being offered. A few courses in secretarial skills seem to be the extent of the vocational/technical program at present.

However, President Atcitty predicted that this part of the curriculum would flourish when the college is moved to Tsaile next fall.

Two NCC students . . . learning the Navajo way?

The school also offers a pre-college program for students whose reading level and other skills are very low and an adult education program on campus and in some of the small communities that dot the 25,000 square-mile reservation.

Altogether, Navajo Community College provided some kind of instruction for more than 10,000 Navajos and other Indians last year, according to Atcitty.

Undergraduates must take nine credits of Navajo studies courses, which range from silversmithing and weaving to Navajo language and history. In that respect, NCC tries to do what many black and Chicano studies programs have attempted in other settings, encountering some of the problems common to all ethnic-oriented education.

Ben Barney, a young teacher whose grandfather was a Navajo medicine man, said, "Our culture is transmitted by the elders — I don't see any of them around here. I talk to my students about English history, literature, but not about Navajo studies," Barney said. "I talk about being a Navajo too, but I do it in my personal way, not the college's."

The content of Navajo studies courses is part of a larger issue which troubles many people at the college — do the Navajos really run the place?

According to Barney, many Navajos think not.

"The medicine men don't think anything very good about the college," Barney said. "They see it as very much a mistake."

College policy is set by an all-Navajo board of regents, approved by the Navajo tribal council, but most of the money to operate the college — $1.4-million this year — comes from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

This is ironic, since an important reason for starting the college was to get Navajo education out from under the thumb of the BIA.

At the operational level, Atcitty is a Navajo, but two of the most influential people on campus — Chancellor Robert Roessel and Dean of Instruction Mordecai Abromowitz — are not, though Roessel has lived on the reservation for more than 20 years and is married to a Navajo woman.

The college hopes eventually to have a largely Navajo faculty, but at present, about two-thirds of the 45 teachers, including most of those in the college preparatory program, are Anglos. Many of them have taught in high schools but lack college experience.

Some Anglo faculty members are definitely pressing for changes, but their criticism is aimed at Abromowitz and Roessel, not at the Navajos.

According to these Anglo critics, Roessel, the college's first president, and Abromowitz, who has been dean of instruction for three years, are responsible for college policies, which do not require students to attend class or faculty members to meet scheduled classes. Nor, they say, is there any supervision of what takes place in class.

"You can stand on your head, wiggle your ears, and spit nickels if you want to and some do," said Don Englishman, a science instructor in his third year at NCC.

Richard Manson, an English instructor who formerly taught at Columbia University, said students disappear for weeks at a time during hunting season. Until recently, Manson claimed, the college had no academic probation policy, and some students spent three or four years at the college, on full tuition grants, without accumulating substantial credits.

Atcitty said some Anglo instructors expect too much of Navajo students.

"A new person has a lot to learn in terms of these students," he said. "Just our customs alone go against what is accepted on the outside. Class attendance, for example. Navajo families are close-knit and students will leave the college for any kind of family emergency or special situation, or perhaps for a ceremonial that might last several days. Navajo families expect students to do their part in family affairs, and some of our instructors don't always realize that."

For a variety of reasons, the best graduates of the reservation high schools attend other colleges and universities. Those who enroll at Navajo Community College have fifth to seventh grade reading ability, and some do not speak English well.

"In a sense the whole college is remedial," Manson says. "Some students who have honors in English couldn't qualify for an ordinary high school diploma."

According to Englishman, with 10 or 12 exceptions, the degrees that have been granted "are not worth the paper they are printed on."

Abromowitz defended the open door admissions policy. That is, he defended it when he deigned to speak at all.

Abromowitz is a lean-52-year-old who is at the center of much of the controversy within the college. He opened an interview by stating, "I won't tell you very much because I feel strongly that this is a Navajo college. I think when people write about the college from their point of view or mine they get things distorted."

Later, he relented to the extent of suggesting that if the students were not learning, it was the faculty's fault.

Abromowitz said he was not discouraged by the small number of students completing the college program or transferring to four-year institutions.

But Barney said he doubts that many Navajos have benefitted from their experience, either academically or personally.

"I know four or five exceptional students who are getting something out of it, but they're doing it on their own," the young Navajo instructor said. "But I hear most of them are entirely depressed . . . the teachers are not stimulating. The college doesn't seem to have a focus. It's very bad. I wouldn't come here. I advise good students to go elsewhere."

Anglo faculty members have made several suggestions which they think would improve the college's academic standards — separating students by ability, organizing academic departments, permitting faculty to have a greater voice in college government — but they say they are blocked at every turn by Abromowitz and Roessel.

Joe Bigelow, a science instructor and chairman of the faculty association, took issue with this approach.

"The dean wants to let the Navajos run the institution all the way down the line — let them make all the important decisions, all the mistakes — on the theory that eventually they'll learn how to run the place," Bigelow said. "But my interest here is to teach students, not to train academic administrators. What about the 3,000 students we've processed through here while they're learning to run an institution?"

Some Anglo faculty members side with Bigelow and Manson, others with Abromowitz, while some merely try to stay out of the line of fire.

Bad feelings run deep, aggravated by the isolated lives Anglo faculty and staff members lead in this barren land, filled with [people who are strangers to them.]

The Navajo tribal council talks of turning NCC into a four-year institution and of starting a medical school in the near future.

Atcitty talks about the bright promise offered by the handsome new campus at Tsaile.

But the hard reality is that so far the tribe and its appointed educational leaders have not proved they can run a two-year college.

Those who uphold the Navajo Way who are interested in helping the Navajo Community College to fulfill its potential, should contact Thomas Atcitty, President, Navajo Community College, Many Farms, Arizona 86503.

NOW THEY STEAL OUR WATER!!

Water . . . will Indians have enough to live? — photo by Charles and Lucile Herbert

This August in New Mexico, Indians of Santo Domingo Pueblo held a corn dance to invoke Unseen Powers to give them rainfall for their crops. Over 250 dancers, arrayed in hand-woven garments and turquoise and carrying pine branches, danced in solemn steps, as they have for hundreds of years, while the community elders chanted age-old lyrics.

For generations Pueblo native people have depended upon rainfall and the Rio Grande River for survival. Now they are involved in a life-or-death struggle against local, state, and federal government officials in order to protect their rights to Rio Grande water.

Indian water rights are endangered because New Mexico business interests are encouraging land development and industry to the point that all available water supplies will be exhausted in the future.

The extensive development is advocated despite warnings such as those of Ellis Armstrong, Commissioner of Reclamation, who affirmed the desperate water situation in semi-arid New Mexico. "The Rio Grande is one of the most critical water-short river basins in the country," he said.

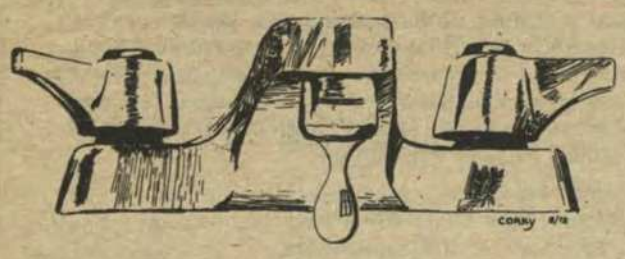
Bob Nanninga, general manager of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District, which supplies irrigation water to farmers, agrees.

Because of future growth, Nanninga says, "It looks as if we will reach a point where there won't be enough water."

Yet one million acres have already been subdivided to accommodate over two million new people, although there cannot possibly be enough water to support them.

Frank Tenorio, of San Felipe Pueblo, and chairman of the Water Rights Committee of the All-Indian Pueblo Council, remarked caustically, "Since they are making a sardine can out of New Mexico, maybe they can provide soy bean oil to preserve the people since they don't have the water to do it."

Even though water is such a crucial issue in New Mexico, valuable water is being used for recreational areas to attract future new residents. Dams such as the one built by the Army Corps of Engineers at Cochiti Pueblo are built many times larger than necessary for flood control so that huge reservoirs can be filled. Cochiti's reservoir alone will be given 50,000-acre/feet a year of Albuquerque's imported water from the San Juan/Chama Project. A prime benefactor of this reservoir will be the Great Western Cities Development Company, which is planning a city of 50,000 at Cochiti Lake on land which was leased from the Pueblo through the BIA.



Brant Calkin, environmental lobbyist and fund-raiser for the Sierra Club, responded despairingly when asked about New Mexico's present water supply and pointed out another water problem. "We're already short of fresh water and ground levels are receding. All of New Mexico's water is appropriated already, yet anyone who wants a domestic well permit can get three acre/feet a year. This is, in effect, a license to steal water." (A bill to reduce this amount to 3/4 of an acre/foot a year narrowly failed in the New Mexico legislature this year.

Even in such a dry state as New Mexico, a developer can drill as many wells as he likes because no limits have yet been set by the State Engineer except in an area around Albuquerque and including the city, which has been declared an underground basin. Only about 20% of the state has been so declared.

Most of New Mexico's water goes for irrigation, around 72% of the surface water and 86% of the ground water according to a 1967 report of the State Engineer. But nevertheless, state and federal government officials concerned with future economic development of New Mexico favor industrial and municipal water users over rural ones.

Most officials adhere to the "bathtub theory" of water usage, which the Department of the Interior Albuquerque field solicitor Jerry Ortega explained as meaning, "He who uses water has a right to it."

That puts Indian water rights at a distinct disadvantage and is in conflict with 1906 and 1963 Supreme Court decisions which affirmed Indian water rights and declared that the amount of water reserved for present and future use of Indian tribes should be measured by the total amount of irrigable Indian land, not merely acreage currently being irrigated.

That amount of irrigable Indian land has not yet been determined, but in discussing San Felipe and Santo Domingo Pueblos, the Interior Department's solicitor Ortega insists, "There's not even enough land on these two pueblos to use the water they claim they need."

Ortega also complains that there was water coming into the Pueblo canals and ditches that the Pueblo people were not using.

Benny Atencio, a resident of Santo Domingo and chairman of the All-Indian Pueblo Council, gives the Pueblo position concerning outsiders arbitrarily deciding Pueblo water rights: "As Pueblo Indians, we do not recognize the theory that our rights to water and other natural resources on our reservations can be limited, restricted, or taken away from us by any state or its citizens. We have lived and used these resources on our land for generations. Our rights to the water have always been inherent in our land base. The non-Indians cannot come into our reservations or homes and begin to dictate to the American Indian his destiny and pursuit of life . . ."

It is no wonder the Pueblo people fear that their water rights could be usurped by Albuquerque when water supplies run short, especially since the state does not support the Supreme Court decisions affirming Indian water rights. While Albuquerque residents water their green lawns, already the northern pueblos of Tesuque, San Ildefonso, and Jemez have experienced chronic water shortages. Isleta, which is directly south of Albuquerque, often receives only soapy irrigation water.

Although the pueblos of the central Rio Grande Valley have enough water for their present needs, it was ominous to the native people that during the recent drought on the Rio Grande, the worst in 71 years, administrators of irrigation water cast covetous eyes upon Indian water.

Now non-Indianfarmers must pay for irrigation water which often is simply not available. So they have put pressure on the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District which supplies irrigation water for the central valley, including six pueblos. In response, during the drought, the MRGCD published a notice indicating that unless rains increased the water supply for irrigation, Indian water would be used, if it were "in excess of the Indian needs."

But the Indian needs have not yet been agreed upon. For years, Indian tribes have been requesting such surveys, but the government has been slow to act and funding for the surveys is still inadequate. In the Albuquerque Bureau of Indian Affairs Water Resources Inventory Office, there is only one water engineer and one soil scientist to work on surveys of Indian lands in New Mexico.

Bob Nanninga, of MRGCD, commented reluctantly and somewhat vaguely when asked about the amount of water the Indians are now receiving, and how the notice would affect them.

"It has not been determined how much water Indians are getting," he said, "but they get the first right to it and can use water till their needs are met." When asked how Indian needs are determined, he responded, "They decide this. You can tell when they're through. We have an inter-communication between MRGCD and the Indian communities. They have their own ditch-riders [men who regulate the flow of irrigation water] and we have ours."

Fortunately, the drought is over. But because of the demands on New Mexico's limited water supply, Indian people fear their water will be taken in the future, although they, as native Americans, have historic private water rights inherent in their land base. Actually, Indians have been irrigating in the Rio Grande valley for thousands of years. Yet the government has been so insensitive to Indian communities that in 1941, there were plans afoot to build a dam which would have completely flooded San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti Pueblos! Army Corps of Engineers tried to get Indian leaders to agree to the dam by trying to get them drunk, according to Frank Tenorio.

More recently, Nanniga of MRGCD admitted that in the future, water will be so scarce in New Mexico that "whoever will be willing to pay the most for water will determine how water is used."

That principle bodes ill for the native people, who are the poorest minority group in the nation as far as money goes, and the principle will favor municipal and industrial users.

Both native and non-native farmers were alarmed last summer when the board chairman of the MRGCD, Dr. Bill Cote, was quoted in the *Albuquerque Journal* as saying, "I would say perhaps that it may be soon that there won't be but very little irrigation land in this valley. I feel that you soon are going to be competing with industry and with municipal water systems to a degree that you will not be able to irrigate."

In order to protect their water rights, San Felipe and Santo Domingo Pueblos have been trying to intervene in a federal court case initiated by the State of New Mexico. They've been trying to intervene since 1970. The State is suing to determine water rights of the northern pueblos and other water users on the upper Rio Grande tributaries, but not on the Rio Grande itself. According to Paul Bloom, special assistant attorney general of New Mexico, the state actually sought to limit Indian water rights, rather than protect them.

The state claimed that the case was necessary in order to distribute water from the new multi-million dollar San Juan/Chama Project, which transports 110,000 acre/feet of precious water from across the Continental Divide into the Rio Grande. According to the state, present rights to water in the Rio Grande watershed basis must be established in order to charge non-Indians for the imported San Juan/Chama water.

San Felipe and Santo Domingo and other supporters believe, however, that the state has no right to sue the pueblos to determine their water rights because they

(continued next page)

have already been established judicially. But if the case proceeds, as seems likely, they believe it is vital that Indian rights on the entire Rio Grande be adjudicated rather than just on the tributaries.

As the case stands now, the northern pueblos are put into the unpleasant position of competing with each other for allotments of scarce tributary water because their mainstream rights are being ignored. In addition, the water supplies of the southern pueblos will be decreased by the San Juan / Chama Project dams being built on the northern tributaries to hold back water which would normally flow southward into the Rio Grande.

Although the government admits that the downstream Rio Grande flow will be diminished by the dams, it claims that it is unnecessary to adjudicate Indian water rights on the entire river.

Interior Department solicitor Ortega revealed the reason for this position when he said that the imported San Juan water "will more than make up for the difference."

But Nanninga of the MRGCD denied that Indians will get any San Juan water. Indians know that the San Juan water is already proving insufficient for New Mexico's needs, and that the state is now seeking new sources of water from Colorado's underground San Luis Valley supply.

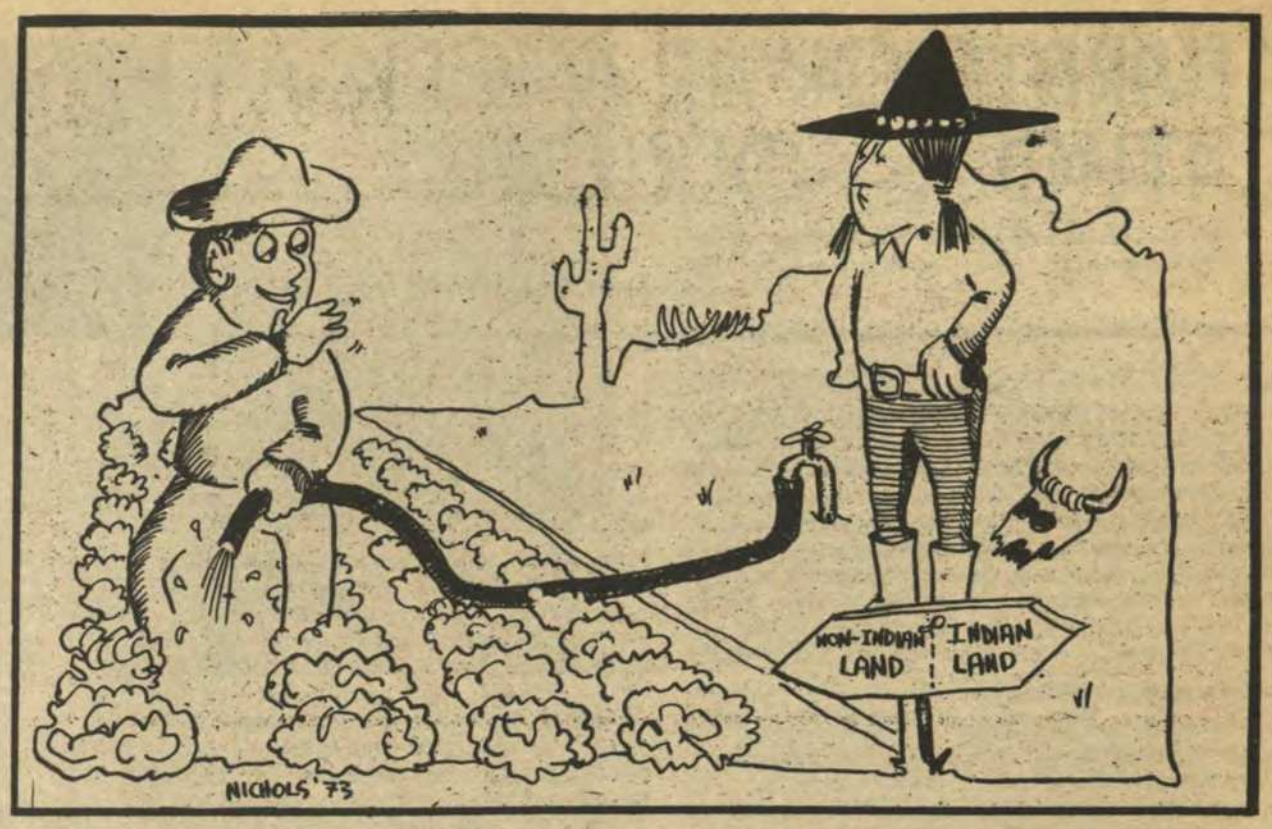
Federal officials have said that the southern pueblos can push their claims to Rio Grande water at a later date if they desire. But native people fear that a precedent will be set by the present court case which will establish a water usage pattern favoring the industrial and municipal users which would be impossible to undo in court.

Although the Department of Interior is legally obliged to protect Indian interests, it refuses to support the San Felipe/ Santo Domingo intervention. A conflict of interest is involved, because – as the BIA in Albuquerque has admitted – the government fears that if the Indians were successful in establishing their full historic Rio Grande water rights, Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation San Juan / Chama Project could be stopped.

In an outright effort to halt the intervention of the Indians once and for all, Thomas Olson, former Interior Department-appointed attorney for San Felipe and Santo Domingo, recently failed to present prosecution for their appeal for intervention to the Court of Appeals in Denver and the case was dismissed. According to Joe Sanchez, a San Felipe Tribal Councilman, "Olson was pressured by the Albuquerque Field Solicitor's Office [of Interior Department] not to present prosecution." Fortunately, a new lawyer was hired by the pueblos and the appeal for intervention was successfully reinstated in August. (The Indians lost in a ruling made since then.)

Not only is the government failing to support the San Felipe/Santo Domingo intervention, but it is also failing to protect the water rights of the northern pueblos of Nambe, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, and Tesuque, whom New Mexico is now suing. In 1969, the BIA hired a private company to determine pueblo water needs until the year 2000, but because the firm, Kirschners, made little effort to consult Pueblo leaders on their future development plans, the report's projections for future water needs are woefully inadequate. For instance, it states that no immediate growth in Pueblo agriculture is likely; it ignores the fact that the pueblos have begun land consolidation programs to increase agricultural efficiency. Also, the report's figures for irrigable land use are much lower than those of other studies.

For years, pueblos have lacked funds to develop economically and could neither expand their irrigation works for increased agriculture nor develop industry. They are hopeful of doing both in the future, however, and this will require water. To understand the danger the pueblos face of losing their water and to gain insight into the difficulties of government-Indian relations, one need only visit San Felipe to see the extensive government apparatus built on the pueblo land – not to benefit the Indians, but to transport water to Albuquerque.



In contrast to the general beauty of the reservation with its green cornfields, juniper-studded foothills and cottonwood trees along the Rio Grande, the outstanding landmarks were rows of huge, ugly silt piles along both sides of a conveyance channel which carries water to Albuquerque. Depite San Felipe's objections to the silt piles, which occupy much land, they have been building up since 1928. That's when the MRGCD was established. The Bureau of Reclamation, which took over operation in the 1940s, also has ignored pueblo requests to remove the piles.

At the Angostura Dam on the reservation, water from the Rio Grande was flowing into a conveyance channel southward to Albuquerque, and as a result, the wide riverbed at San Felipe was nearly dry. Moreover, since this source of Rio Grande water is insufficient for Albuquerque's needs, Rio Grande water and imported San Juan / Chama water as well was also traveling to Albuquerque through an additional channel.

Without consulting the pueblo, the Bureau of Reclamation recently constructed a cement and steel apparatus which has converted a simple San Felipe wasteway, which once carried waste water back into the Rio Grande, into a diversion channel. San Felipe people are furious because they had consented only to a trial of this system to see if the silt problem would be alleviated – and are still asking that the permanent apparatus be removed. After all, they say, Albuquerque gets water already from the Angostura Dam.

San Felipe and Santo Domingo are also angry because they have discovered that the Bureau of Reclamation plans to transport San Juan / Chama water from Cochiti Dam to Albuquerque in yet another conveyance channel. This channel would go through and past these pueblos and would completely dry up the Rio Grande at the pueblos except for flash floods. It would also effectively cut off San Felipe's own independent river heading eight miles north, through which the people have regulated their own water supply for hundreds of years.

The pueblos are refusing to give rights-of-way needed for the new channel, because as one San Felipe resident put it, "We want always to see water flowing past our pueblo." The pueblos have told the Bureau of Reclamation that if they want to go around the Sandia Mountains to get water to Albuquerque, "they can."

Since water and soil surveys are essential to the Pueblo People's struggle to protect their water rights, San Felipe and Santo Domingo have also been instrumental in getting the All-Indian Pueblo Council to request that the BIA give the Council the financial resources and responsibility to hire a consultant firm to undertake these studies. Because of insufficient funding, the present studies being conducted by the BIA would take at least ten years or longer.

Because of lack of strong environmental legislation and encouragement of massive population and industrial growth, New Mexico's already scarce water supplies are being depleted and Indian water is being threatened.

Whether the Pueblo People will ever get the water the corn dance brings is very much in question.

(For thousands of years, native peoples in what is now New Mexico have managed agriculture in the semi-arid land. They used intricate systems of irrigation and an advanced knowledge of farming to do this. But now in New Mexico, local administrators talk of giving Indian water to non-Indian farmers. State and federal officials ignore Indian water rights. Government ditches and dams channel precious Rio Grande River water away from the pueblos to more politically powerful municipal and industrial users. It could easily mean the end of Pueblo agriculture – and dependency upon white industrial development.

(This article is by Pat Porter, to whom we are indebted for her kindness – and analysis.)

WATER RIGHTS: A FEW MORE DIRTY FACTS TO CONSIDER WHILE WASHING

The Bureau of Reclamation

Although the Bureau of Reclamation was originally concerned with providing irrigation water to needy areas, it has in the last several decades become more interested in providing areas with municipal and industrial water. The Bureau is involving itself in multi-million dollar projects that are changing the entire geo-political schema of the Southwest. It's two main projects are the San Juan Chama Project, and the Central Arizona Project.

The Central Arizona Project

The Central Arizona Project diverts water from the upper Colorado River for use in the huge, water-hungry cities in southern Arizona, Phoenix and Tucson. Even before the project goes into effect, it has been determined that the Colorado River has been over-appropriated. The Arizona project means the final destruction of both the Wet and Dry River Tribes through lack of water. The water they used to grow their corn now will be used to fill the swimming pools in the subdivisions in Phoenix and to sprinkle the golf courses in Tucson.

The Papagos

The Papagos, who farm 1800 acres south of Phoenix, have little water left. Because of the pumping of ground water by non-Indians, the Indian water tables have dropped drastically, making it too expensive for the Papagos to continue irrigation.

The Pimas

South of Phoenix, one sees a long bridge over a dry river bed. This is the Gila River. Here the Pima Indians drew water for farming irrigation long before the Spanish came. Before 1890, the Pimas used to supply the U.S. Army with grain and other produce from their fertile fields. As the white settlers began using the water in the area, it became necessary for the government to ship grain to the Pimas. Today, the Gila River is dry the year around – the water has been diverted upstream by one of the Bureau of Reclamation's more famous projects, the Coolidge Dam.

The San Juan/Chama Project

The San Juan/Chama Project is the Bureau of Reclamation's master plan for the development of New Mexico. The project, when completed, will divert water from the Upper Colorado River Basin through a series of tunnels under the Continental Divide in the Rio Grande Basin. Like the Central Arizona Project, the SJCP is primarily a plan to guarantee the continued industrial and economic growth of the Southwest – and catastrophe for the Indians. The project directly limits the flow of water downstream on the San Juan River in northwestern New Mexico, affecting the Jicarilla Apaches, the Utes, Navajos, Yumas Mohaves, Chemeueves, and many others. The diverted water will eventually reach the Cochiti Dam and Reservoir above Albuquerque, where it will be taken by conveyance channels to the big city. The channels would go through and past pueblos and would dry up the Rio Grande except for flash floods.

The Navajo Project

While the San Juan/Chama Project is 65% complete now, to serve white people, the Navajo Project which was planned at the same time is being met with red tape at every turn. The project would provide 508,000 acre-feet of water from the Navajo Dam to the Navajo Reservation, and was agreed upon in exchange for the diversion of Navajo water from the San Juan. But the Navajo Project will not be complete until the year 2009 at the earliest, while the SJCP goes along right on schedule. There is a good chance the Navajo Project will never be completed.

(Thanks to Tom Barry of Seer's Catalogue for this supplementary information. Seer's Catalogue is an alternate newspaper published in New Mexico.)

A HARD LOOK AT AMERICAN CATHOLIC FOLKLORE

MOHAWKS, MARTYRS, AND MYTHS

Jacques Marquette bringing Light to the Illini, 1673

(This month marks the 300th anniversary of Jesuit Father Marquette's travels from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River, a missionary voyage much celebrated in American Catholic folklore. In this article, the author challenges the commonly accepted historical perspective of this period. It is by Richard Lundstrom, who has taught for the past 11 years at the Jesuits' Campion High School in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. His wife, Donna, is a member of the Rosebud Lakotah people, as are his four children. We are grateful to him, and to the May issue of the National Catholic Reporter, in which the article was first printed.)

Peoples are supported by myth.

Myth fleshes out peoples' dreams of what they are; it sets up a teleology that at once renders their nations' actions inevitable and justifiable; it intermingles and confuses history with destiny; it assures that the gods will recognize, or better, create a nation's righteousness. It is the source of a nation's strength, so much so that Napoleon, no mean judge of power, would prefer control of a nation's mythology to command of its armies. It ratifies, it canonizes, it apotheosizes.

The problem is not that myth is always lethal. Indeed, its principle function seems to be that it brings man into contact with the profound mystery of the universe on terms that are at once acceptable and delightful. The problem is that myth can become lethal. Perhaps it must, sooner or later . . .

America is supported by such myth. Its myth purports to give substance to basic nationally professed ideals: democracy, freedom from oppression, and material success deriving from morality and hard work. American history, as it is purveyed, supports the myth. And American history as it is ingested by the masses of Americans, is, by and large, pure distortion.

Distortion it must be. For if our government and our church (those noblest of institutions, one human and the other divine) be complicit, to put it gently, in rapine, slavery, and genocide, what shall sustain us? Not the the thought that such unpleasantries were but labor pains, the inevitable trauma of man emerging from a state of viciousness and evil to one of nobility and justice. For the myth that has hidden from us what we have been, and have done, still hides from us what we still are, and what we still do. It's not that we must suppress historical truth to preserve the myth the way some societies we call "closed" do. We need not burn books. even though we sometimes do.

The crucial realities, both historical and current, are quite available. We just ignore them. Probably we can't stand to confront them. To do so would not make us psychotic: it would simply reveal our psychosis. For even an incipient comprehension of the vast gulf between our myth and the reality would make our schizophrenia acute.

The reality is a continuum that connects Indian flesh sizzling over Puritan fires and Vietnamese flesh roasting under American napalm. The reality is a compulsion of a sick society to rid itself of men like Nat Turner and Crazy Horse, George Jackson and Richard Oakes, whose defiance uncovers the hypocrisy of a declaration affirming every man's right to liberty and life. The reality is a overwhelming greed that begins with the theft of a continent and continues with the merciless looting of every country on earth which lacks the strength to defend itself.

And all is glossed over by a myth, by a concoction of myths called variously democracy, Christianity, free enterprise, or capitalism. The names are legion. In short, our myth hides what we are and what we do. It tells us we practice the virtues we violate. Our version of history supports the myth. And so, as a people, we continue to devastate the world and ourselves.

Paradoxically, we will never approach the ideal our myth envisions until we destroy the myth itself. So destroyed let it be. Unfortunately, it seems to have no recognizable linchpin or keystone whose removal could topple the whole insane structure. It must be dismantled therefore stone by stone, bolt by bolt.

A Three-Hundred-Year-Old Myth

On June 17, 1673, two white Europeans from France, one Marquette who was a Jesuit, and one Joliet who was not, nosed their canoes into the upper waters of the Mississippi River. They had traveled across Lake Michigan from the Straits of Mackinac to Green Bay, and thence along the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers to the Mississippi. On June 17, 1973, two more canoes, bearing one Jesuit (and possibly three or more) [planned to] nose into the same waters at the same spot to celebrate the tercentenary of Marquette's trip.

These men will be celebrating something historical, to be sure, but all unwittingly, no doubt, they will be prolonging a pernicious myth. The myth is all-American.

It involves Christ's commission to preach to all nations. It is rooted in the Ignatian vision of the greater glory of God. It will glow red with the blood of the martyred St. Isaac Joques and St. John de Brebeuf, vivisected by the savage Indians for whose immortal souls these Frenchmen willingly died.

And great imagined pageants of those good white men of the great white men of the great white god who opened a continent to civilization and crashed their fair bodies like kamikazes against the bulwarks of red savagery and paganism, who went down in flaming torture or died in some lonely forest – all these marvels will fortify them. And there will masses along once clear streams with pine needles scented and soft as high-piled carpet underfoot. And there will be crowds along the way and cheers and flashing cameras and feature articles. And it will be God and America all the way to Helena, Arkansas, and back.

That's the way it goes. The stuff of myth.

The Indians had been there for 1,000 generations; but no matter, they are ghosts now and they have no tercentenary to celebrate. They came to understand, as did their survivors, these white foreigners. The Winnebagos, the fish-eating Sioux, who were among the first to be destroyed, called them *wasichus,* amd so they are called by Indians today. *Wasichu* doesn't mean white: it just describes whites. It means, "he who grabs everything."

And grab it they did, Marquette and Joliet, claiming the river, the bluffs that Marquette called mountains, and Colonel Pike would later call peaks, all the land that drained into the river, all the animals with their skins and meat, claiming all, Indians and all, from sea to sea, for France.

And claiming most of all the beaver, for his pelt was profit. And what about the Indians – the Winnebagoes, the Sac, the Fox, the Menominee, the Chippewa, the Sioux, the Illinois, the Miami, the Osage, the Pottawatomi – who had called this land home even before the pyramids of Egypt were conceived by the mind of man? Well, they are ghosts and have no need to celebrate.

Marquette soon died mercifully innocent of the knowledge of good and evil; unaware that he had flanked the last continental barrier and rendered inevitable the genocide of the Indian people; that 217 years later, shortly before a spate of slugs loosed his own great spirit and shortly before the final massacre at Wounded Knee, Sitting Bull would lament, "Indians! There are no Indians left but me!"

–RNS

Isaac Jogues . . . on his way to glory

The Martyrs

After Marquette's journey, the only question to be decided was which *wasichus* would be in on the ultimate kill, which whites would bring the Indians finally to bay and complete the slaughter begun by Columbus in 1492. We Americans were there. It might be said that we won. . .

But what about St. Isaac Jogues and St. John de Brebeuf, those Jesuit brothers of Marquette, and the other North American martyrs canonized, infallibly, by the Catholic church? They died under the hatchets of the savage Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois nation, witnesses in blood to Christ and the Catholic church. Shall we not at least celebrate them?

It comes up hard against the myth to say "no"; to say that they were executed by the Iroquois because of the Jesuits' responsibility for the French attempt to destroy the Iroquois nation in order to gain profit for France.

The French had come up the St. Lawrence looking for profit. The profit was in beaver pelts for which there was an enormous demand in Europe. The French secured the Hurons (themselves an Iroquoian people) as allies in order, through them, to control the fur trade. They seduced the Hurons with the usual European products – guns, powder, shot, hatchets, traps, kettles – which gave the Indians who possessed them complete physical supremacy over those neighboring tribes who did not.

The Iroquois maintained a semblance of parity with the Hurons for a time by trading beaver to the Dutch for these same products of European civilization. But soon the Iroquois beaver supply was depleted; the French and Hurons controlled the trade routes and the trade. The Iroquois must share in this trade or die (a civilized arrangement imposed on the Indians with the arrival of the Europeans). Efforts between the Hurons and the Iroquois to share the trade were frequently frustrated by the French Jesuits, who along with the civil authorities wanted no peace that would divert furs to the Iroquois and thus wealth to the heretical Dutch.

By inflaming animosities, priests helped prevent amicable settlement for 25 years (1620-1645). Under the profit motive triumphant, French missions were indistinguishable from French trade. Such an arrangement, as the Jesuit Father Rageuneau pointed out at the time, was "necessary for maintenance of the faith in all these regions, for the good of the French colonies, and the support of New France." Whatever other intentions the Jesuits had, the Iroquois considered them to be the "chief clerks of the fur trade."

Finally, however, under terms favorable to the French, a peace treaty was signed in 1645 between the Hurons and Iroquois which guaranteed Iroquois participation in the fur trade. Nonetheless, with French and Jesuit encouragement, the Hurons immediately broke the treaty in 1648, by delivering all pelts to the French, thereby depriving the Iroquois of their only means of survival.

The Iroquois, consequently, did the one thing they could do – attack the French-Huron trade routes. Jogues was caught by an Iroquois war party in 1646, as he entered Mohawk territory in another attempt to convert them. Jean de Brebeuf was captured in the Iroquois attack on the French-Huron trading post near St. Ignace, Ontario in 1649. Both were put to death. Repeated Iroquois attacks cut off the Hurons from their sources of trade, and since they were exclusively traders, they had no stores of food.

In the winter of 1649-50, the Huron Nation ceased to exist. It starved to death. Of 35,000 members of a noble tribe, some 300 survivors straggled into Quebec after the spring thaw. Genocide. French variety. Orchestrated by church and state.

There seems no need to mention that Algonquin neophytes were armed with muskets; nor to mention that two Jesuit priests exercising civil authority, allowed the Iroquois to attack the unarmed non-Christian Algonquins; nor to mention that the Jesuit superior in New France (Father Lalemant) would write to his superior in Rome (Father Vitelleschi) correctly attributing severe loss of life among the Hurons to the plague, after having written four days previously to the highest civil authority in France (Cardinal Richelieu) attributing these same losses to fictitious depradations of the Iroquois so that more guns might be sent to kill them.

The Algonquins, the Hurons, and the Iroquois were so many ghosts. To be sure, the Iroquois would fight desperately for another 150 years, but in vain . . . so forget them.

Rather let there be masses and anthems in the basilica as the people celebrate St. Isaac at Osseronon. Let there be chorused prayers by the path along which these red savages murdered this white saint. Never mind that religion had little to do with the execution of this martyr. Never mind that duplicity and violence for the sake of profit had much to do with it. We must light our candles. We must paddle our canoes. We must preserve our myth.

(continued next page)

And What of Tekakwitha?

And what of Tekakwitha? What of the Venerable Kateri Tekakwitha, the glory of the Mohawks? Did she not leave her own people, the savage Mohawks, with their paganism and violence and lechery, and go to live with Marquette's fellow white Christian Jesuits? And did she not fast and pray and remain chaste? And did not her skin, as Father Holland rhapsodizes in the Song of Tekakwitha, immediately after her death turn from swarthy to white? Lily white. Whiteness, the ultimate criterion of her sanctity. Shall we not honor her?

No, Tekakwitha needs no honor from us. She was what she was, and in honoring her, these white Europeans are but canonizing themselves. And so today, Indian children in mission schools are still taught to emulate Kateri Tekakwitha, the white Mohawk – a dishonor to her, an insult to her people and a testimony to our determination that our national myth will be perpetuated by any and all means possible.

The Indian people do not need you, Tekakwitha; the whites do. You are a necessary part of the myth. And a pope, Pius XII, seals your alienation from your people when in the decree proclaiming your venerability he affirms that you come from a people "most corrupt and steeped in heathen error." (Perhaps some theologian will rise up to render papal authority compatible with papal bigotry within the narrow confines of a single sentence.) But the myth is not disturbed by such irregularities.

So while the Indians are ghosts, the myth lives on. It reinforces our conviction of absolute righteousness in our history and our destiny. And so the horror has no end. Cotton Mather is Lt. Calley. French Catholicism and English Puritanism were alike bastard offsprings of Christianity and greed, as are any current counterparts. Ordinances of the original 13 "council fires" as the Indian called them, appropriating funds for Indian scalps, are not qualitatively different from Pentagon demands for Vietnamese body counts.

Kateri Tekakwitha

The spirit that enabled American fighting men to wear Indian women's genitals as hat bands and play ball with their severed breasts is the same spirit which in a later day would enable American fighting men to rape Vietnamese women before wasting them. The reality is ineffable and unsufferable tragedy. So we must have myth.

On June 17, 1973, will come two fiberglass canoes.

But if they must come, let them not come like some dream of Marquette, blackrobed, rampant, Christ's pale corpus extended in one fist over the prow of his canoe.

And instead of two canoes, let there be seven, Seven Against the Myth. And with true Yankee ingenuity, let there be erected, amidships in the first canoe, one Indian crucified. In the second, one black man lynched. In the third one Hiroshiman atomized. In the fourth, one Latin American child starved. In the fifth, one Zulu chained. In the sixth, one Chicano hooked, and in the seventh, as an earnest of democracy and catholicity, one white European/American brutalized by his own myth.

And let this melancholy procession of seven canoes in file cleave the heart of the nation from St. Ignace to the sea. And let all the people crowd the massive bluffs of this mighty Mississippi River to see what we have wrought. And as the paddle blades dip and flash and drip slowly, rhythmically, inexorably, let there be over the whole land no sound save silence and sobbing.

Then let each watcher return to his most sacred place to ponder how we may be free.

THE AURIESVILLE SHRINE PILGRIMS' HYMN

Humbly we hail you, America's Martyrs,
Glory of Auriesville, Saints of our Land:
Holy the Hill which your blood has encrimsoned.
Hopeful the prayers of your pilgrim band.

. . . Done are the dark deeds of murderous Mohawks
Peaceful the pilgrims who throng to your Hill;
Happy to harbor their cares and their crosses
Safely with Saints who will speak to us still. . .

(Words by Father Thomas J. Coffey, S.J., written for the tercentenary year of the martyrdom of Isaac Jogues. Father Coffey was then director of the Auriesville Pilgrim's Shrine, New York. Recently, the Shrine's Bulletin reprinted the hymn, and it is intended to be used during services during this year. Thus far, polite requests to have the Shrine drop the hymn from use have not been successful. Those who wish to comment on the matter may write Rev. Thomas F. Egan, S.J., Director, Martyrs Shrine, Auriesville, New York 12016.)

"The Mohawks We Met At Akwesasne Were Friendly".....

(This article is by a Jesuit priest who has taken a careful view of the history of his order and his church. It was written for a well-known Catholic magazine.)

A VISIT WITH THE MOHAWKS

by Frank Lalley

Anyone growing up in northeastern United States has heard stories of the Iroquois Indians. About eight hours from New York City, beyond the Adirondack Mountains, right on the Canadian border where the St. Lawrence River first touches United States soil, there is a community of Mohawks, one of the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Their reservation covers some 39,000 acres, partly in Canada and partly in the United States, with some Canadian territory on the south side of the St. Lawrence. Named St. Regis after the French Jesuit, John Francis Regis, its Mohawk name is Akwesasne (the place where the partridge drums.) The Mohawks there are struggling over a question which touches their national identity and reaches out to native peoples across the U.S. and Canada.

We were invited to visit them through a letter received from the "traditional" Mohawks . . .

Although we had never met a Mohawk in person, we knew they were an important part of our religious history. The French missionaries Isaac Jogues, John de Brebeuf, Rene Goupil, and others are central figures in American Catholic history. At Auriesville, N.Y., a shrine stands in their honor. Kateri Tekakwitha, the "Lily of the Mohawks" is also honored at the shrine and many at Auriesville hope that she will be declared a Saint in 1976 to coincide with the 200th anniversary of the American nation.

It seemed important to respond to their invitation. Father Thomas Hennigan, an Augustinian from New York City, made the first journey to Akwesasne and. . . discovered that the controversy on the reservation sometimes involves State Police harassment of those Mohawks "living in the traditional way." While driving at night to visit the [editor of AKWESASNE NOTES], Fr. Hennigan and the traditional Mohawks [he was riding with] were forced by a hostile officer to give up their car and find their way home on foot.

Three of us made the second journey to St. Regis. Fr. Hennigan, Fr. Ed McGowan, a Jesuit from New York City, and I retraced the route travelled by Isaac Jogues after his first escape from the Mohawk Village, Ossernonon, now the site of the Auriesville Shrine of Martyrs.

. . . The Mohawk River runs west from Auriesville through the Mohawk Valley to join the Erie Barge Canal toward Syracuse and Buffalo. Although we often saw the name, Mohawk, in the valley (Mohawk Power & Light) we found no Mohawks still living there. . .

The Mohawks we met at Akwesasne were friendly and eloquent in explaining themselves and their life on the reservation. A family offered hospitality in their Indian Way School, *Onkwehonweneha.* We stayed there, sleeping around a stove during our four-day visit.

The school was an introduction to our understanding of their movement to connect with the roots of Mohawk and Iroquois culture. The students were learning the Mohawk language and the songs, legends, and dreams of the Iroquois people. Our hosts, Edgar and Ann Jock, with whom we shared many meals and much conversation, had built the school in their back yard and many of their fifteen children were students. As we stumbled around in the dark school the first night, trying to get settled, several of the Jock children helped us out, all the while showing us with pride the Iroquois wampum belts they had made of beads and hung on the walls of the school. Later in our visit, the Jock children came at night to sleep with us around the stove.

Ann Jock, Karonhianoron, introduced us to the religious conflict at Akwesasne by telling her own story. A Catholic for most of her life, she had left the church to join the Longhouse, the place of meeting for those at St. Regis who live "the traditional way." The Longhouse, she explained, was the "way" of the Iroquois reaching back many centuries to the Iroquois Confederacy and beyond. There are also Longhouses at Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca reserves. A symbolic longhouse stretches across New York State with the Mohawks as Keepers of the Eastern Door, and the Seneca, Keepers of the Western Door with the Onondagas at the center as Keepers of the Central Council Fire.

We did not understand why Karonhianoron had to leave the Catholic Church in order to join the Longhouse, but this came later in our visit.

The Jesuit mission church stands at the edge of the St. Lawrence on a piece of land known as the "point". It reminds one of many of the churches in French Canada, with a single thin spire reaching into the sky. The mission has been there many hundred years and, at least physically, seems to dominate the reservation. We were received warmly by the Pastor, Father Francis Arsenault with whom we talked for most of an afternoon.

We asked about the mission and their relations with the traditional Mohawks, like Mrs. Jock, and the Indian Way School, AKWESASNE NOTES and its controversial editor. Was, we wondered, some form of ecumenical dialogue possible between the mission and the traditional Mohawks. This would not be possible on the reservation, he responded. Not from lack of desire on his part, but because of the history of the mission.

The conversion of Mohawks had historically demanded an abandonment of their own rites. This was further complicated by competition among Christian denominations for Indian souls. It was only recently that he could cooperate in small ways with the "non-Catholic" churchmen on the reserve.

Dealing with those trying to rekindle the Iroquois tradition simply was not yet possible he felt. Such a dialogue would have to begin much higher up before it could be a possibility on the reservation, he indicated.

We then spoke during the evening with Father Michael Jacobs, a Jesuit priest and "full blooded" Mohawk who has served the people of St. Regis for over thirty years. In his view, the traditional people at Akwesasne are "pagan" and would be condemned for their practices. The Mohawk people, he said, need only their "faith to save their souls" and a "good job to support their families." We found him absolutely inflexible in his opposition to the traditional people.

. . . On the day of our departure from Akwesasne, we were treated to a playful example of how strongly these many hundred years of history still influence the Mohawks. A few inches of wet snow had fallen the night before and we started a snowball fight with the students of the Indian Way School. Immediately, a teenage Mohawk girl remarked, "Be careful – remember what we did to Isaac Jogues." Continuing the play, we locked ourselves in our car and were surrounded by the students, covering the car with snow and taunting, "Come out, Isaac!"

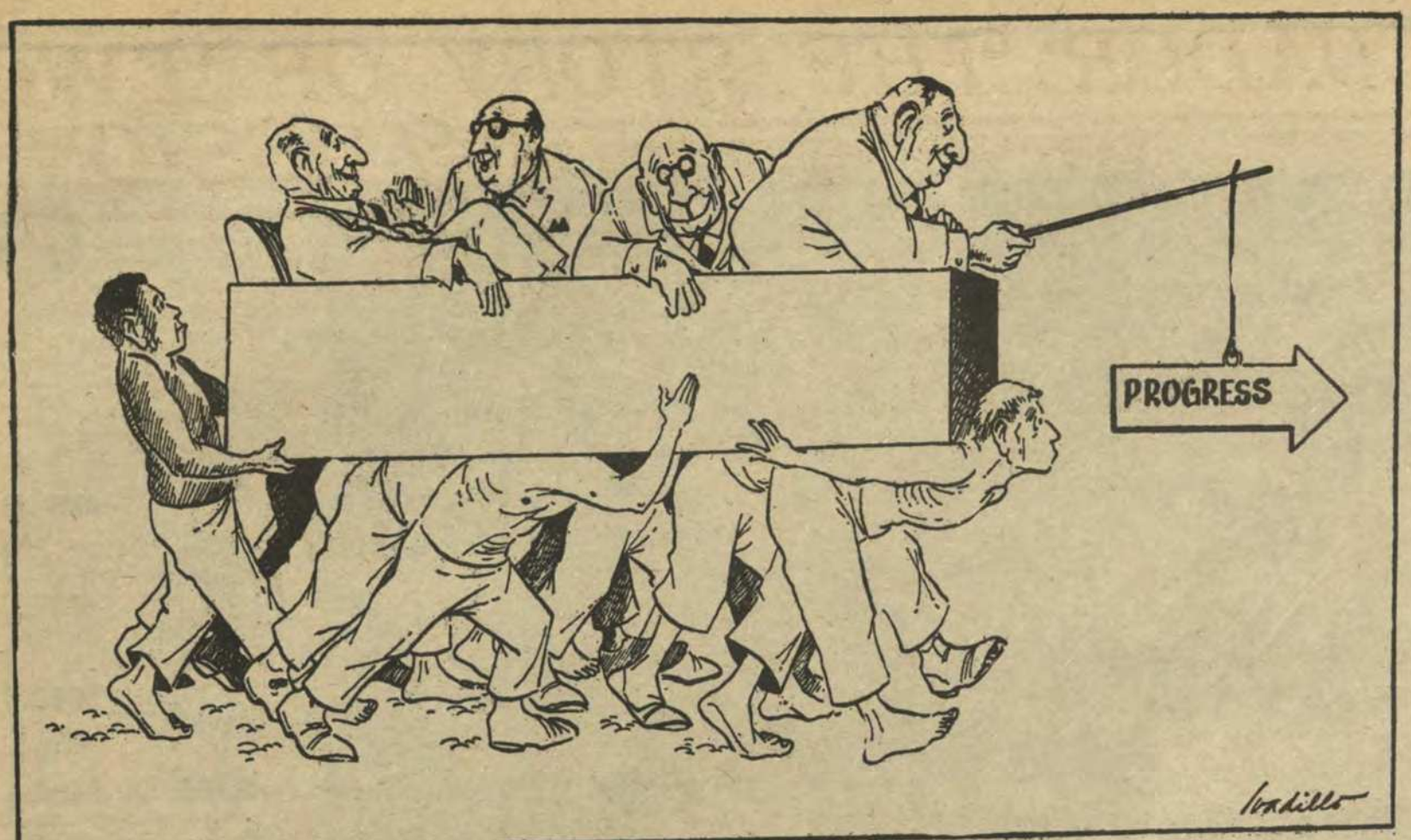
We shortly got out of the car and were chased around for a half hour until, when all seemed exhausted, we threw up our hands and admitted, "We surrender." At this a young Mohawk boy looked us in the eye and said without hesitation, "Give us back our land."

* * * * * *

LA RAZA / LOS INDIOS

NORTH & SOUTH
WE ARE ONE PEOPLE!

This photograph is of native people of North America who experienced colonization by Spanish-speaking people, rather than English or French-speaking people. They live now in what is Chiapas, Mexico. This photo is from La Raza, a Chicano magazine published by El Barrio Communications Group, POBox 31004, Los Angeles, California 90031. This poster is one of a series available on heavy poster paper for 3 for $1, all of a kind or a mixed set, from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683. We are grateful to El Barrio Communications for their publication.



HERE WE GO AGAIN.....

Primitive: primary, first, in direct relation to environment.

In September, a mission of the Anti-Slavery Society, at the invitation of the Brazilian Government, is investigating the condition of the native peoples of the Amazon forest. The society hopes soon to organise a scientific conference on the future of the world's primitive peoples.

The Montagnards in the mountains of Indo China, the Eskimos, the Indians in the Amazon forest – all are going, by design or default, the way of the Sioux and the Cherokee. These remnant cultures are scattered over a very large part of the earth's surface.

There are over two million people in Papua and New Guinea, divided into 700 ethnolinguistic groups. A tiny group of Stone Age people – so called because they do not use metal – the Tasaday, was discovered recently in the Philippine Islands. Ninety percent of all the people who have ever lived were hunters and food gatherers, but the few that are now left are scattered in remnant bands like the Bushmen in the Kalahari, or the Nemadi in the western Sahara.

Despite their great variety, primitive cultures have much in common. They exploit difficult landscapes, such as tropical forest, desert, or Arctic tundra, and live near subsistence. They are often egalitarian, without extremes of wealth or power, and hold land communally in the best interest of the community. They see that individuals do not starve as long as there is food somewhere in the community. But life is hard, and mortality high. They differ from racial minorities in industrial countries – Black people in America and Europe, or Jews in Russia – by forming distinct social groups outside the main economy, not competing for jobs or women.

The industrial countries have mostly eliminated their aboriginal populations as cultural units, although, like the Ainu in Japan, vestiges remain. In the USSR, the problem of 'national minorities' such as the Kazakh nomads, was settled with the help of massive deportations. The treatment of the American Indians is the best documented story.

There were probably ten million native people between the Rio Grande and the Arctic when whites arrived in America. By 1850, there were less than 250,000, although the number is growing now. The white settlers wanted their lands, and the conventional rules of warfare were too good for such 'savages' who were among the first to face biological and ecological warfare: the English spread smallpox by means of infected blankets in the 1760s, 100 years later Kit Carson cleared the SouthWest of Navahos by systematically killing their livestock and burning their fields.

Primitive peoples today are mostly in developing countries, which are trying to repeat the rapid agricultural and industrial development of nineteenth century America: the best interests of the primitive populations are not among their main concerns. As the gap between rich and poor countries widens, there is a danger that a similar gap will appear within the poor countries themselves – between those who can jump on the industrial bandwagon, and those who are left behind: the very poor hunters, shifting cultivators, and nomadic herdsmen whose culture is no protection against the twentieth century, and for whom integration often means near-slavery. Behind the intransigent problems of the Third World looms the misery of this dispossessed Fourth World.

Take Brazil. There are few Indians left – probably only 50,000. Brazil has become the champion of the Third World countries seeking rapid industrialisation, and is fostering a frontier myth in the Amazon forest. Development here means resettling farmers from the ecologically depressed NorthEast in the cleared forest where they may be expected to create the same desolation. The result may well be to give Brazil that other sumbol of a rapidly developing economy – the Dust Bowl – of unprecedented proportions. In the process, the Indians, who used the delicate tropical forest wisely, will be eliminated or resettled in reservations.

Almost everything is against primitive peoples. The traditional method of waging war on them is used less often now, although having liberated Bangladesh, the Indian Army took the opportunity to conduct operations against the neighboring Mizos who wanted to be independent too.

Primitive peoples sometimes are used as mercenaries: both the English and French used Indian mercenaries in North America, with England's Indians sometimes fighting France's. Burmese hill tribesmen were used against the Japanese in World War Two. The Montagnards in Indo-China have been enrolled in large numbers as American mercenaries, while at the same time South Vietnamese were taking over Montagnard land in the Central Highlands. For years Montagnard crops were sprayed with herbicide from American planes on the grounds that some of the harvest went to the Viet-Cong. In the end, when the South Vietnamese troops and their American advisers run, the Montagnard are left to make their own peace with the North Vietnamese. In Laos, a CIA-financed mercenary army of hill tribesmen has been operating for years. Many of them have little choice: their homes have been declared free-fire zones and are on the receiving end of the B-52s.

But the main threats are less brutal than this, and come from well-intentioned efforts at national development. Roads, such as the Trans-Amazon highway in Brazil or the planned trans-Saharan road open up hitherto inaccessible areas for exploitation and colonisation. In the Sahara, trucks will be able to transport the goods that still make nomad caravans an essential part of the desert economy.

Roads also make land grabs easy. Land belonging to a community rather than an individual, or land such as nomad pastures, which is only used at intervals, seems empty and is taken over for farming. Where there are minerals, the aboriginal owners get short shrift. In Australia, aboriginal lands have rich mineral deposits, but the Supreme Court ruled in 1971 that the Aborigines have no legal right to any land in the country. The mining is often done by foreign firms: the Swiss company Nabalco in Australia, or Rio Tinto Zinc, which mines copper on the island of Bougainville. The resources of New Guinea are being divided up among Australian and Japanese investors.

Even schools can bring a danger of their own. Primitive culture and the knowledge essential for life in a difficult habitat are transmitted orally from parent to child. Even a small interruption can make it difficult for the child to become a full member of the society. Often he will not want to, since school has taught him to despise the primitive life of his parents. Contact with others also brings diseases against which primitive peoples have little resistance.

The case for not allowing the remaining primitive peoples to disappear is partly seen by Western peoples as moral, and partly based on enlightened self-interest. Primitive people are a living fund of knowledge about the origins of human society, especially valuable when many of the assumptions of Western peoples about themselves are falling apart.

The current preoccupation with the environment may help.

At the moment, though, primitive people are often treated as wild animals. As the British Aircraft Corporation's publicity manager is reported to have said about negotiations for supersonic corridors for Concorde: 'In the Australian desert there's nothing except a couple of abos and plenty of kangaroos.'

Part of the trouble is that Western people don't know what to do about primitive peoples. They know it is not realistic to put a fence around them and hope for the best as the Brazilians have done at Xingu. Sooner or later, overriding reasons will be found for mining or farming parts of such reservations, and the inhabitants will take second place. In any case, even a little outside interference such as medicine or new ways of digging wells has unpredictable results. The traditional balance with the land is broken, shifting cultivation plots are not allowed their long fallow periods, and seasonal pastures are used too often. The people finish by destroying their own habitat and are left destitute.

Western people may weep over the Noble Savage whose cultures are safely out of the way, but they will not compromise with the rebellious tribesmen who still hold out.

(This commentary appeared in the London Times September 3, 197[illegible]. It was written by Jeremy Swift, a researche[illegible]at Sussex University on the Tuareg noma[illegible]of the Sahara.)

ECUADOR: THE STORY OF TWO MISSIONS

–New York Times/Marvine Howe photo

Bishop Léonidas Proana at a farm cooperative in Riobamba with area native people

Riobamba, Ecuador – "I used to be a slave on a hacienda, but now I can work for my family and get an education – thanks to Monsenor," a young Indian said passionately at a meeting of the Juan Diego farm cooperative, and the ten other members nodded in assent.

"Monsenor" is 63-year-old Léonides E. Proano, the Bishop of Riobamba, and perhaps the most controversial figure in this country. His enemies call him "the Bishop of the Indians" while his partisans liken him to the Most Rev. Helder Camara, Brazil's defender of the disinherited.

The old bourgeois city of Riobamba, about 100 miles south of Quito, had 60,000 inhabitants, who claim the purest Spanish blood and the finest apples in the country.

The diocese of Riobamba, however, has the highest concentration of Indians in Eduador – about 180,000 – and most live in extreme poverty. . .

Bishop Proano, who was named to his post in 1954, has devoted himself to improving their lives and restoring their dignity, starting literacy classes by radio, a hostel with medical services, and the first agrarian reform in the province.

"The Indians are beginning to be aware of their terrible condition, and want to be educated," he said in an interview with Marvine Howe for a special article to the *New York Times*. "Before, they couldn't speak to white men; now they speak without fear and look you in the eyes."

The Bishop is opposed to forcing Western values on the Indians.

"After centuries of oppression, they have lost some of their values, but they have their own culture, and we must respect it," he said. "What we need is the birth of a new culture, the fusion of the values and the elimination of the anti-values of both cultures."

The large landowners of Riobamba and many other leading citizens look with suspicion on the Bishop's social works, which, they feel, will make the Indians dissatisfied.

For several years, they have waged an aggressive campaign against the Bishop, attacking him in the press, and in pamphlets, and petitioning the Vatican to transfer him.

As a result, a papal delegate the Rev. Jorge Casanova, arrived in April to investigate. Father Casanova, an Argentine serving in Bolivia, spent over a week here, meeting with the town fathers, religious groups, trade unionists, and delegates from the Indian communities. He also met with Bishop Proano.

Meanwhile, Bishop Proano has continued his work and says he will not give in to pressures and ask for a transfer. He says his mission is with the Indians, and he has much work to do.

Opponents of the Bishop accuse him of leading the diocese into "bankruptcy" with his social works and travels abroad. Their attacks have centered on the reconstruction of the cathedral, which was largely destroyed by severe storms in 1965.

The well-to-do in Riobamba generally want a new majestic cathedral to compete with that of neighboring Ambato. The Bishop, however, insists that the diocese does not have enough money and has begun work on a simple structure, retaining the old facade.

Fundamentally, the bishop is accused of neglecting the urban population in favor of the campesinos, who are mostly Indians.

"This Bishop will leave us without farm workers or servants," is the general complaint.

Visitors to Riobamba are often shocked by the conditions of the Indians. Most live in hovels of mud and sticks without sanitation, much less modern conveniences. Their daily diet is a corn-flour soup, sometimes filled out with cabbage and potatoes. The average wage is 5 sucres (25 cents) a day, but in some places, such as the nearby village of Flores, they are paid one sucre a day.

Bishop Proano's most important work was to start agrarian reform in the province and to introduce the Indians to cooperatives. He has turned over the church's two large estates to agrarian reform programs for campesinos.

His action was revolutionary, because the Catholic Church was one of the largest landowners in the country, and generally sided with the hacienda owners in disputes with the peasants.

(Thanks to the New York Times for this article, which appeared in its May 17, 1973, edition.)

Quito, Ecuador – In 1953, the first group of missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the Wycliffe Bible Translators arrived here, and now, 20 years later, the seven basic Indian languages have been transcribed in written form, Bibles are being translated for them, and bilingual Indian schools are teaching Indians Spanish as well as their own languages.

The institute was established in 1934 by William Cameron Thompson, of Santa Ana, California, and attempts to learn and analyze the approximately 2,000 unwritten languages that exist in the world today. Thomson started the institute after he tried to sell gospel tracts among Guatemalan Indians, and failed because they knew no Spanish.

The institute works in a Siamese-twin relationship with the Wycliffe people; the institute is the scientific arm, and the Wycliffes are the Christian missionaries. The institute maintains a 30-plane fleet in Latin America, including a DC-3 cargo plane and 2 Helio-Couriers for short take-off and landing.

They often have worked in pacification programs with oil geological survey crews, keeping the Indians from attacking the intruders on their lands. There is no government Indian protective agency in Ecuador.

With the Aucas, for instance, Christianized tribesmen fly in institute planes over the jungle, broadcasting through loudspeakers, urging the Indians to gather so they can explain the newly established Auca reservation on which the government wants them to live so they will not bother oil crews.

The Wycliffe Institute produces and distributes films telling of its work. Their descriptive catalog contains these notations:

MY NAME IS CERVO *– "Cervo is a humble Satere tribesman of the Amazon River. The true account of his own miraculous transformation in a first-person narration that reveals the heart of a seeking Indian. His family and his tribe are changed as he makes his first break with tradition, and accepts the hope of the Gospel.*

PAINT ME RED *– ". . . You see the Indians as the translator sees them, as he begins learning the language, helping to meet physical need then communicating the hope of the Gospel.*

JOURNEY TOWARD TODAY: *"Share the excitement of former jungle savages entering a new world of Scriptural enlightenment, education, and progress . . . Trained Christian tribesmen are using the grassroofed village schools as a tool of evangelism.*

MEET MY AUCA FRIENDS: *"See the transforming power of the Gospel in savage lives . . . "*

A central information coordinating point on native peoples of South America has been established in the U.S. Persons with information to share are asked to contact:

INDIGENA
P.O. Box 4073
Berkeley, California 94704

COLOMBIA

From the bellies of the Indian female
will be born new flowers of intelligence
which will call attention to the whole civilization
of exploiters, defamers, usurers, and thieves who
have uprooted our parents, children, and husbands from
the forests, plains, and jungles, tricking them with
liquor in order to dispossess them of their
homes, crops, and lands.

Signed: 14,000 Lamista Women

(from El Derecho de la Mujer Indigena, the first publication of the Indian Women's Movement, Colombia, 18 May, 1927.)

Coconuco, Colombia – It was Holy Week in the town of Popayán, 1973.

During the day, there was an air of festivity, tourists, and – surrounded by automatic rifles – the holy relics of the Popayán's Archdiocese: golden chalices and goblets, precious objects covered with diamonds, sapphires and emeralds.

But farther away in the Coconuco mountains, over a thousand native farmworkers were getting ready to "invade", once again, the *Hacienda Cobalo.*

On Holy Monday, 33 native men, women, and children were jailed for trespass. They had, it was charged, offended the holy writ of private property – the land belonged, the court said, to the Catholic Church's Conciliar Seminar of Popayán.

For the Coconuco natives, it was the fourth time some of them had been jailed in their struggle. They point out that they hold title deeds to the property as well as aboriginal right. They are claiming the land for their whole community, not individual ownership.

"We do not want the land in order to have it like the gentlemen at the Seminar to keep a few cows on it, but to feed our families and the people in the cities. And for this, we are being taken to jail because we wish to work. . . This is why from the beginning we wrote to the Pope to see if he would help us recover our land," the Coconucos said in a statement. "But we have had no answer. . . "

The Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform conducted a five-month study into the claims of the Archdiocese that it, and not the Indians, owns the land. However, the Institute officials were not impressed by the Church's claims.

The Coconucos occupy the lands from the outskirts of Popayán to the hills of the Cordillera Central. In the middle of the 16th century, their whole Nation was assigned to Don Pedro de Velasco as *encomienda,* which meant that the Indians had to work literally as slaves of the Church in exchange for the Church's "work" of converting the Indians to Catholocism and "protecting" them from European members of the Church.

However, in the 17th century most of the land was declared state property, and was promptly acquired in public autcion by the wealthy, and the church of Popayán.

Time went by, and in the 18th century, Dona Dionicia Perez Manrique, also known as Marchioness of San Miguel de la Vega, returned to the Indians in the form of an inheritance, 9,000 hectares of their former possessions. But it was not long before they had lost the land once again to the *civilizados.* (In Colombia, as in many former Spanish colonies, native peoples are called *irrationales,* or irrational ones, to differentiate them from non-Indian *civilizados,* or the civilized.) This time they were made a part of the great productive and well-organized Coconuco Hacienda (30 kilometers in diameter) property of the "School of the Society of Jesus" (Jesuit) of Popayán.

When the Jesuits were expelled in 1770, the land was taken over by aristocratic families from the area, the Arboleda and the Mosqueras, who remained owners until General Tomás Ciprieno de Mosquera started demarcation procedures to set aside lands that still belonged to the natives.

In 1899, before the title deeds disappeared, the Coconuco Indians threatened by the new invaders, obtained a supplemental title to their diminished reservation, which is now barely 3,275 hectares.

Although all sales of native land were to be null and void according to the 1890 law, the Conciliar Seminar of Popayán bought a piece of land in 1911 from the Coconucos – the parcel was located right in the center of the reservation. Then the Purace Municipality made other cuts for tourist hotels featuring thermal waters.

Today, all that remains to the Coconucos of their former extensive possessions are 900 hectares of bushy craggy poor lands in which are crowded 1500 people.

The Children of Native People in South America . . . like our own –Latin America Calls

THE COCONUCO STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

Thus it was that the 400 hectares occupied by the Conciliar Seminar took on prime importance. The struggle to reclaim it has taken the form of violent repression, something not particularly new – Manuel Quintin Lame was imprisoned more than 200 times during his life in efforts to reclaim this and other land.

The Archbishop says that the Church needs the land to raise cattle, arguing that the money is to be used to pay for the costly education of future priests for the dispossessed Coconucos.

The current struggle got underway October 26, 1972, when the native people began to work the land on the disputed Seminar property. The Church pressed charges, and 28 arrests of natives were made. A week or two later, the Coconucos sent a telegram to Pope Paul IV asking for his intervention – but no reply was received. Delegations to Bogotá, the capital, produced lots of promises, but no help.

On May 14, then, the Coconucos went back to work the lands again. 33 were arrested this time, including women and children.

The next day, the whole Coconuco community moved on to the land, only to be met by demands by church officials for strong police intervention. When the police arrived, homes were burned, two women alleged rape, and 190 of the native farmers were arrested.

With tension in the area building, 60 of the men were moved to the jail in Popayán. About fifty women who had been in the Coconuco jail revolted, though, left the prison, and marched through the town demanding that the Catholic Church return them their land, the title to which is claimed by the church's Conciliar Seminar de Popayán.

Although the Archbishop announced that he was willing to sell the land to the native people, he met with the governor, police officials, and army commanders to coordinate the defense of "his" property. He also denounced the native rebellion as one caused by people who are not from the reservation.

The Coconucos live in the Cauca area of Colombia, where there are 47 *resguardos* or reservations with a population of about 100,000 native people. The area has been a hotbed of native militancy during the last fifty or so years in their campaigns to recover lands which were distributed or occupied by force. The region is in the Andean zone of Colombia.

For many generations, the struggle was focused on the judicial front, a strategy which was completely unsuccessful. It was led by Manuel Quintin Lame, who died in 1967. Those who fought with him were known as Lamistas, and they based their legal claim on the 1890 Colombian statute which isolates Indian communities from ordinary law, and made the sales of Indian land null and void.

In the past decade, there have been instances of armed resistance by Indian groups, such as the Guahibos in Planas in 1970, as more and more Indian lands are expropriated for "national development," Christianization projects, settlement, and exploitation by large international companies including U.S. oil firms.

With the native population a mere 2% of the Colombian total, the government does not take the resistance all that seriously. However, supporters of the Indian struggle for cultural survival point out that Indians may hold the key to a proud cultural heritage for the entire country, and that the liberation of the mass of the people is closely connected with the ability to regain their own soul.

Colombia maintains a "Native Affairs Division" in its Ministry of Internal Affairs for the "protection of the Indians." This unit was not created until 1960, and consists primarily of work with native people who have already been "brought to civilization. Government policies revolve around the ideals of complete integration, including renunciation of native language and culture, in order to create "national unity".

Historically, the Colombian government has delegated authority over Indians to the Roman Catholic Church. Today there are 219 Catholic mission posts, and 33 groups of research-workers from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Wycliffe Bible Translators.) The Protestant and Catholic missionaries are fierce rivals for the Indians' souls. One recurring charge against the Summer Institute of Linguistics people is that they often serve as front-men for corporations exploiting Indian lands, and in the gathering of political information needed to keep the native people in a subservient position.

Other Protestant groups, mostly financed by American contributors, are the Christian and Missionary Alliance, New Tribes Mission, South American Indian Mission, and the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade.

One American firm, Potlatch, Inc., has received grants of over 400,000 acres of native lands, and forest reserves are being ruined by its operations. Also, the U.S. forwarded Colombia $60-million for the completion of a highway which threatens native people (Chocó and Cuna) with such things as wide-scale flooding of their lands.

Support for the Coconuco struggle can be expressed to the Embassy of Colombia to the U.S., 387 Leroy Place NW, Washington, D.C., or by phoning them at (202) 387-5828. There is also an embassy in Ottawa, Canada.

The Colombian Mission to the United Nations is at 140 E 57 St., New York City (212) 355-7776. The Consulate General of Colombia also is at 9 First St., San Francisco, California (415) 362-7680.

The Coconucos themselves can be reached through the Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, Ap. Aereo 516, Popayan, Cauca, Colombia. Church officials can be reached by writing the Arzabispo de Popayan, Cauca, Colombia.

(Copies of letters should also be sent to Indigena, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704, which is coordinating North American information on the struggle of native peoples.)

(Thanks to Indigena, to Marta Calvet de Villagomez for the translation of information, to Marie-Helene Laraque, and to Victor Daniel Bonilla of the Indian Defense Committee, Apartado Aereo 11272, Bogotá 1, Colombia.)

"Then the police were leading them toward the trenches at gun point . . . gave them one minute or they would be shot if they didn't tell them who the leaders were. The wretched men told them their leaders were 'hunger' and 'need' . . . since actually they were very very poor, and the land had been taken away from them by the landowners and the church."

– Natives of Coconuco, November, 1972)

MASSACRE ON THE LLANOS

COLOMBIA

Bogota, Colombia — Five years ago, a group of Cuiba Indians accepted a range boss' invitation to a meal beside a ranch house far out on the Colombian llanos — prairies that stretch unroaded and unfenced from horizon to horizon.

As the Cuibas began to eat, cowboys emerged from the ranch house. With guns, machetes, hatchets and clubs, they slaughtered at least 16 Cuibas, including women and children.

Last June, a three-man jury of llaneros, as the men of the llanos are called, found the cowboys not guilty, though they freely admitted their part in the massacre. The jury accepted the defense argument that no one born and raised in the traditions of the llanos could be expected to consider eradicating a Cuiba any more censurable than eradicating a deer.

The six acquited cowboys and two women who prepared the meal for the Cuibas at LaRubiera Ranch five years ago are in jail at Ibague awaiting retrial, scheduled for the first half of 1973. The judge at their first trial ruled that the llanero jury's verdict of "invincible ignorance" as Colombian law terms it, was against the weight of evidence.

The fact that the cowboys burned the bodies and hid the remains under cattle bones is thought to have influenced the judge's finding that they were not "invincibly ignorant" of the criminal aspect of their actions.

From across the unmarked border where the llanos run north and east into Venezuela, word has come that one of the three Cuiba survivors of the Rubiera massacre has died. It is problematical whether either of the two surviving Cuibas, both believed to be in Venezuela, will testify at the retrial.

Another llanero jury has recently freed three ranchers who shot and killed three Indians of a non-Cuiba tribe, and a spokesman for the Cuibas said recently in Bogotá that Cuiba-killing on the llanos continues.

A Cuiba leader, Gabriel Moreno, was asked whether the problem had been taken to the police. "Not since long ago," he said. "It doesn't get us anywhere. When we went to the police they would write down what we said, but because it had to do with Indians they would throw it in the wastebasket as soon as one's back was turned. Other times,they would not listen to us because a rich settler would come forward, give them 1,000 pesos, and say, 'go have a drink; you are wasting time with these Indians.' "

At the original Rubiera trial, and in commentaries arising from it, many other cases of multiple killings of Indians on the llanos were reported in detail. In one, a Colombian Navy riverboat was said to have machine-gunned Indians on the bank of the Rio Meta.

None of these allegations have apparently led to legal proceedings, despite the naming of persons, places, and dates.

In the Rubiera case venue has been shifted some 200 miles west from Villavicencio, the gateway to the llanos, to Ibagué.

Jaime Rafael Pedraza, who will again be defense attorney, read to the first jury from documents dating to earliest Spanish colonial days on the llanos. Down the centuries, Indians were referred to by white chroniclers — some of them priests — as animals to be hunted as any other predatory game.

(Thanks to the New York Times News Service for its January 6, 1973, report.)

EXPLOITATION, TERROR, TORTURE, AND "INDIAN DRIVES"

(A Dispatch of The Sunday Times, London)

Bogota, Colombia — A small tribe of South American Indians, already in danger of extinction through poverty and disease, is being hunted and killed by the Colombian army and white settlers who believe that there is oil beneath the tribe's lands.

The plight of the Indians, the Guahibo tribe in the Planas Region, 180 miles south-east of this capital, was first revealed when a group of Colombian clerics and academics wrote in August, 1970, to the World Council of Churches seeking help.

But because some of the signatories to the letter had not given permission for their names to be used, and because some of the allegations of torture and killing contained in the letter were inaccurate, the Colombian authorities were able to discredit it.

Further inquiries have indicated that the basis of the letter appears to be true. The Indians, who number only 7,000, and are dying off from tuberculosis, venereal disease and malnutrition have been systematically driven from their lands by exploitation, terror, torture, intimidation and most recently, by "Indian drives" conducted by the Colombian army.

The Indians' current troubles go back to 1965 when a government malaria inspector named Rafael Jaramillo Ulloa arrived in the area, and was horrified at the exploitation he found. The white settlers had staked claims to huge farms of up to 170,000 acres. The Indians, who do not speak Spanish and exist on a diet of manioc, a tuberous root, and what they can hunt with their bows and arrows, were being used as forced laborers.

Jaramillo managed to get government loans with which he started a cooperative group, a health station, and an electric generating plant. By lobbying in Bogota, he persuaded the government to set aside 35,000 acres as an Indian reservation.

The Indians began to trust Jaramillo. Their condition started to improve, and, pleased with what was happening, the authorities promoted Jaramillo to inspector of police. Then, earlier in 1970, Jaramillo had a fight with a landowner called Joaquin Ramirez Mendoza, wounded him, and fled to the jungle with 200 of his most loyal Indians. It was, said people who know him, not a sudden decision.

"He just gave up," Alejandro Reyes Posada, the government coordinator for Indian Affairs, said. "He decided it was useless trying to get things done through legal channels."

While the government in Bogota was deciding what to do, some farms in the Planas region were attacked and 13 white settlers were killed. The Army moved in to quell what appeared to have the makings of an Indian revolt.

The moment the Army began to move, the Indians fled. By the time the first soldier had reached Planas, all 7,000 Indians had taken to the jungle. The Army first saw this as evidence of the Indians' guilt. But after an enlightened officer, Major Andres Alvarez, started to persuade the Indians of the Army's goodwill, they began to trickle back.

They had suffered severely in the jungle. Many were dying of starvation and some of the children were ill from the Pito mosquito whose bite causes the flesh to rot away to the bone. When they returned to their reservation, they found that the white settlers — excited by the prospects of oil — had burned the Indian homes and destroyed their food crop.

In response to a petition from the settlers to the president calling for tougher action, the Army began a series of "Indian drives."

In the fall of 1970, following Army sorties into the jungle, there have been clashes with Indians. Witnesses say that only one of these was with Jaramillo's band. The rest were with families of unarmed Indians who had returned to the jungle out of fear. Women have been killed and children wounded. Men suspected of having belonged to Jaramillo's band have been strung up from trees for hours, poked with electric cattle prods, burned with cigarettes and beaten to persuade them to say where Jaramillo was hiding.

When 35 Indians were imprisoned in foul conditions in the nearby town of Villavincencio, a Roman Catholic missionary, Andre Gonzalez, reported the matter to his superiors in Bogota. The church sent a party of priests to investigate, and one, Father Gustavo Perez, a type of the campaigning priest becoming more and more common in South America, drew up a list of cases of torture and killing and persuaded a number of academics to sign it and he began to circulate it. It was this letter that reached the World Council of Churches.

[In their petition to Colombia's Attorney General, the Catholic group charged that the Colombian Army had tied Indian children and left them outdoors for days without food and water.

["All this is done in the name of law and order," the group said, "but in reality it is no more than a form of institutionalized violence."]

The Army says that Colombia has had a long history of terrorist and guerilla activity and that they cannot, on the evidence, treat Jaramillo and his Indians as anything except a revolt against the government.

The white settlers are even more militant. "There will not be any peace in this region," one said, "until the Indians are gone."

(Copyright by New York Times News Service)

Something Called Development Is Killing Off People

Cuiaba, Mato Grosso, Brazil — Something called development is killing off people and life — and scientists want to study the people before they die because they believe they have advanced knowledge and ways.

However ridiculous that may seem to be, it is the case in South America. It is estimated that by 1980, there will be no Indians left in a country that once was the home of millions.

Dr. Paulo de Almeida Machado, director of Brazil's national institute for Amazonia research, in a recent interview with Leonard Greenwood of the *Los Angeles Times,* said he did not think the Cintas Largas and other Brazilian tribes could survive the onslaught of development and keep their cultures intact. Thus, he said, scientists are rushing to learn all the Indians can teach them "before they die out or abandon their old ways for a plastic culture."

Development takes priority over native people because many persons believe the native culture has no economic value and stands in the way of progress, Machado said.

"We regard the Indian as an inferior being with an inferior culture," Machado said. "But when you talk about living in the Amazon he is far superior because he harmonizes so perfectly with the whole ecological system. The tragedy is that he is one of the main keys to the successful occupation of the Amazon, and as he disappears, his vast wealth of knowledge is going with him."

Western man, Machado said, prides himself on his ability to dominate nature, but in the Amazon, this will not work.

He explained that the Amazon forest, which is roughly the same size as the United States, is a unique ecological system and little is known about the way it functions. Trying to transfer knowledge from other areas could lead to economic and ecological disaster, he said.

This is because the soil is generally poor and the rich vegetation is made possible only by an extremely closed nutritional cycle. Research indicated that in more than half the Amazon, growth is fed by nutriment from falling leaves.

"If we violate this system we cannot replace it by planting other trees, such as bananas. We will have to study it in depth and use imagination and immense creativity to find new forms of agriculture that fit in with this reality."

The Indian, he said, has crops not used by Western man, which apparently do not upset the Amazonian ecological balance, and which could be exploited commercially.

The Indian is also extremely skilled in medicine, he said. In his natural state, according to Machado, he has much more skill at avoiding malaria than western man. When he does get it, his remedies are so effective they form the basis of Western medicine.

While the rest of the world is only now beginning to think about the importance of population and population control, the Indian of the Amazon has understood that for centuries, Machado said.

The Indian, he added, has understood for centuries the dangers of concentrations of population. When tribes reach certain size, the leaders divide them and half move away.

(Thanks to Leonard Greenwood and to the Los Angeles Times for this information in a June 14, 1973, article.)

(Another group of native peoples live far from the North American continent — and yet their lives are controlled by the Department of the Interior of the United States of America. This article is by Roger Gale, a former Chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Guam. It is from Ronin, *a journal of Asian affairs published at Port POBox 2214 Kobe, Japan.)*

FREEDOM FOR MICRONESIA

An activist from Ponape

Few have suffered more from the ravages of war than the people of Micronesia. Some of their islands suffered heavier bombing in World War II than any part of Europe or Asia. Many of their islands were blockaded by American forces, and the people starved to death. They are the only people, other than the Japanese, to have been subject to nuclear disaster. Some of them were heavily contaminated by radioactive fallout from the March 1, 1954, H-bomb test on Bikini. Others were forcibly removed from the islands of Bikini and Eniwetok and deposited by the U.S. Navy on uninhabitable islands where there was repeated starvation and malnutrition.

Today, the U.S. military is allowing them to return "home", but home has changed. Some of the islands in their atolls have been vaporized and blasted completely into the sea; most of the remaining ones are almost completely denuded of vegetation and some of the marine life is not safe to eat.

Yet little has been done to help them. No one has even bothered to calculate how many of them were killed in World War II, and it is only this year that the U.S. Government has set up a war claims commission to provide monetary compensation for tragedies that occurred 28 years ago. There was no Marshall Plan for these people.

There are at least 200 giant bat-like B-52s parked wingtip to wingtip on Guam, flying 12-hour missions over Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. This is the largest concentration of murderous air power in the history of the world. Each of these planes carries over 43,000 pounds of bombs on each of its mechanized, impersonal but deadly attacks on Indochina. Day and night, bomb trucks barrel through Agana, Guam's business and shopping district, delivering their loads to waiting B-52s.

The mining of North Vietnamese waters was carried out largely by ships based on Guam, and new mine storage facilities have recently been constructed there. The pseudo-scientific seeding of clouds along the Ho Chi Minh Trail is done by Air Force C-130s based on Guam.

Polaris submarines and nuclear-armed B-52s are based on Guam along with receiving stations for early-warning satellites, and on Ritidan Point there is the terminal for a top-secret underwater cable and low-frequency submarine detection system.

On an island only 30 miles long, there are four nuclear weapons storage facilities, one of which is located right across the runway from the civilian air terminal and is easily visible on takeoff.

Despite this fantastic conglomeration of the tools of death, few people know anything about these islands. Anthropologists coined the term *Micronesia* to mean small island, but under American administration, both military and civilian, they have been virtually invisible islands.

For Americans, they are unknown colonies, even though the U.S. has controlled Micronesia for 27 years, and has controlled Guam for almost 75. Many veterans of World War II remember these islands as they were in 1945 after they had been virtually destroyed — few know how much destruction is now launched from these same islands. The press ignores them, and the government treats Guam and Micronesia as "in-house" problems.

Small though most of these islands may be, some of them — like Guam, Saipan, Tinian, Babelthuap, Kusaie, and Ponape, are large enough to contain bases as large as almost anywhere in the world. Truk has a lagoon large enough to have anchored the entire Japanese fleet in World War II. Hundreds of sunken Japanese ships are still rusting beneath the lagoon's clear blue waters; dangerously decomposing depth charges have recently been found aboard one of the ships.

Saipan was for 11 years a secret CIA training base for Nationalist Chinese guerrillas. Today the American Trust Territory Headquarters are in the old $28-million CIA buildings and most American officials live in ex-CIA housing.

The atolls of the Marshalls have been the site of numerous H-bomb tests, and impace area for ICBMs and are now the major test site for U.S. Army & Western Electric anti-ballistic missile (ABM) development.

Today most of the military installations are on the 210-square-mile island of Guam, an American colony seized in 1898 during the Spanish-American War. But with the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control and unrest in the Phillipines, Micronesia's 2300 islands around Guam are about to be re-militarized by the U.S. With the exception of the Marshall Islands, Micronesia has thus far been relatively free of military bases since World War II.

The military has been holding Micronesia as a reserve area, however. These islands are officially known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. They are administered by the United States under a virtually meaningless United Nations mandate. Of the eleven trusteeships created after World War II, only Micronesia has not been allowed to become independent. Papua New Guinea, the only other remaining trusteeship, has been promised its independence in the near future.

Only in Micronesia was the Administering Authority allowed to build military bases under terms of a "special strategic trusteeship." This allows the U.S. to close parts of Micronesia at will and without notice, and to employ local people as military "volunteers." Also, unlike the other former trusteeships, the U.S. is obliged to report only to the Security Council, where it has a veto, rather than to the General Assembly, where it does not. Annual Trusteeship Council meetings and triennia visits to Micronesia are considered by the U.S. to be for informational purposes only.

Nevertheless, most of Micronesia was able to renew itself, and the people became largely self-sufficient again. An excellent exception to the rule of "development" theorists, Micronesia, ignored by her new master in Washington — the Interior Department — was not only able to survive without significant help from the Western World, produced food surpluses, and managed to live in complete peace. Productive high islands as well as many low-lying coral atolls produced enough taro, breadfruit, and other staples for 4 or 5 times their population.

The Interior Department later rationalized this policy as one of "benign neglect" but it was in actuality American lethargy and incompetence which best explained these years of rule by castoff ex-Bureau of Indian Affairs bureaucrats. Anthropologists often call it the "zoo theory" of administration, and indeed, it is true, but during these years, at least, they were economically and culturally on their own, especially outside of the six district centers.

By the early '60s, things began to change. As usual, it took 5 years or more for the changes to be transmitted from the policy-making enclaves in Washington, D.C., to Micronesia. In 1962, it became U.S. policy, as spelled out in National Security Action Memorandum No. 145, that Micronesia should be moved "into a permanent relationship with the U.S. "within our political framework." Anthony Solomon, then of the Harvard Business School, and later a high-ranking State Department official, headed a team which was appointed in 1963 by President Kennedy to develop a detailed program for accomplishing this.

Almost all of the Solomon Report's recommendations have been implemented. The Peace Corps was to be introduced as the main "Americanizing-agent." American "patriotic ritual" and "U.S.-oriented curricula" were to be promoted in the classrooms, and as many Micronesians as possible were to be put on the American payroll as a means of making them dependent on the American Treasury.

India would have had 19 million Peace Corps volunteers if it had been deluged on the same per capita basis as Micronesia. At the same time, the budget grew from $4-million-a-year to $60-million-a-year; still a small amount when one compares it with military expenditures in the Vietnam War, but big enough to cause severe dislocations in the Micronesian way of life.

Military missions began to visit Micronesia more frequently than before. Most often they were *sub rosa* missions: "tourists" with short hair, roundtoes military shoes, and gray-rimmed glasses. In 1965, the Air Force contacted anthropologist George P. Murdock of the University of Pittsburgh about doing a follow-up study of local cultures which had originally been done by the Navy in 1947, and which to this day is still the largest single social-science project ever undertaken in a foreign country.

By 1969, things began to speed up. So-called "civic-action teams" appeared in all the districts to work on local construction projects. They were drawn directly from Vietnam, where they had been engaged in similar psychological warfare efforts.

Pretty soon, an interesting pattern emerged. Army engineering teams became responsible for "civic action" in the Marshalls where ABM testing is done under Army auspices. Navy Seabees work in the Carolines where naval port facilities and Marine training sites are planned, and Air Force "Prime Beef" teams operate in the Marianas where reconstruction of World War II airbases on Tinian and Saipan are on the cards.

On Tinian, Standard Oil of California has already announced plans for a 30-million dollar oil refinery, and Hawaii's Dillingham corporate empire will construct an asphalt and concrete plant on the 12-mile long island. Since Tinian has fewer than 900 inhabitants, it is clear that these investments are tied to the military.

Marine General Lewis Walt, commander of U.S. Marines in Vietnam, visited Micronesia and told people he was looking for new bases for his troops to train, and that he knew the other services were looking for new bases too. He met for a short time one afternoon with some of the traditional chiefs of Palau and became convinced that they would welcome the military with open arms. A few days later, however, the Palau District legislature voted a resolution condemning Walt's visit, and vociferously opposing U.S. military bases in Micronesia. Supposing some "uppity" Peace Corps lawyer had instigated the resolution, Walt convinced Spiro Agnew, the new vice-president of the U.S., to throw the Peace Corps lawyers out of Micronesia. A "compromise" was reached that allowed the lawyers, who had not yet resigned, to remain, but in a sanitized, distinctly non-political role.

At a speech at the University of Guam, Walt spoke of how "his men" in "Nam" were saving little girls and were even fitting many of them with artificial arms and legs. When the Marines come to Micronesia, he said, they would do the same thing. When a student interrupted his speech, he was surrounded by a dozen or so dress-uniformed Marines, and later at a private reception, students gave Walt a severe verbal tongue-lashing which he talked about constantly during the rest of his trip.

Of course, this didn't do much to stop the U.S. military but the publicity it generated convinced most Micronesians that they would soon be turned into messboys and janitors, and that their islands would once again become targets of war.

Last October, the U.S. confirmed Micronesian suspicions when it broke off talks relating to future status and informed Micronesia that it was still in control, and would not "agree to the termination of the trusteeship on terms which would in any way threaten stability in the area and which would in the opinion of the United States endanger international peace and security."

Rhodesia: Remnant Of Imperial Age

> "Understand that the land belongs to a vast family of beings – many are dead, few are living, and countless members are still unborn."
>
> – a Nigerian proverb

Bulawayo, Rhodesia – Split-back lizards scurry over the hilltop tomb of Cecil John Rhodes while far below, under the scarley flamboyants and lavender jacarandas, his African dream is quietly fading.

Seventy years after his death, Rhodes' ideal of extending white rule over the length and breadth of the African continent has become little more than an antiquated remnant of an imperial age.

One remnant is Rhodesia, where 250,000 whites control a country of 5,000,000 blacks – the whites can no longer ignore their challenge. African liberation movements are already at their borders.

Whites hope that at this last minute, they might be able to "settle their differences peacefully" with the people that belong to the land.

Zimbabwe was colonized at the turn of the century by Great Britain, and then in the upheavals of the 1960s, made some moves toward giving blacks greater voice in government. Thus in 1965, the white minority government unilaterally declared its independence from Britain, bringing down upon it United Nations sanctions against trade.

Within the African National Council (ANC), the largest nationalist movement, opinion is divided between those who favor talks with Smith, and those who oppose this as a "sellout to white racism."

While Smith says he favors talks, he is also stepping up oppressive measures, leading some observers to say that he will set up a complete system of apartheid similar to that of South Africa. Even whites who oppose Smith politically find their mail censored and threats of imprisonment hanging over their heads.

One of the main guerrilla threats in this area of Africa is directed against Portuguese-ruled Mozambique, to the east of Rhodesia . Until recently, most of the fighting has been between Portuguese troops and freedom fighters. Rhodesia's main supply line is through the Mozambique port of Beira.

But there are attacks within Rhodesia, too. On the night of Dec. 21, raiders opened fire with rockets and bullets on Marc De Borchgrave's farm house in the Zambezi Valley. Two nights later, the guerrillas struck at a neighboring farm where the De Borchgraves had taken refuge. Within a few hours, a jeepload of Rhodesian soldiers ran over a land mine.

Rhodesians complain that the guerrillas aren't playing fair – they say they obtain their arms from the Soviet Union or China.

The guerrilla units are part of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, or ZANLA. The new fighting in northeast Zimbabwe means that Smith must stretch out the limited army personnel – although he is receiving help from the South African police units.

In early February, a pitched battle took place in the Chiweshe district of Rhodesia between guerrillas and security forces. Claiming that local tribespeople had given aid to the guerrillas, the Government imposed collective punishment on local villagers, fining them about $100. Schools, churches, and shops in the area were also ordered to be closed, for "security reasons."

Rhodesian confidence has been badly shaken by the attacks which have taken several white lives and which have reaches as close as 100 miles from their capital, Salisbury. The guerrillas were once considered to be comically inept – but now they are better-equipped, better-trained, and more unified in their actions. They have abandoned suicidal frontal attacks in favor of ambushes and the use of landmines.

More important is that the guerrillas are starting to receive support from their black compatriots inside Rhodesia. Openly worried by this new trend, Ian Smith's regime has given new powers to the tribal chiefs (whom black nationalists often regard as stooges) to punish any villages which aid the guerrillas.

Smith has also changed the old five-year-term in hard labor for aiding or failing to report guerrillas. Now the penalty is 20 years, and a few death sentences have been imposed. But the increased repression can only serve to consolidate resistance, and lead to the "bloody mess" feared by Britain's foreign secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

Clashes between black Zimbabwe people and Rhodesian authorities grow more numerous in freedom struggle.

Until 1963, the leadership of the Zimbabwe people felt that the only avenue toward liberation was through political struggle. They maintained that protests would in time compel the white minority to liberalize the oppressive state machinery to the point where the demand of the Zimbabwe people for majority rule would be met. They hoped too that protests would attract the attention of the international community, and that world opinion would force Britain to work out a constitutional arrangement that would keep the peace.

This failed. Colonial powers do not take well to kindly appeals, it seems, and the Zimbabwe leadership found itself in the middle, shielding the colonial government from effective action by the people.

But in August, 1963, advocates of militant action formed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and guerrilla activities became evident. As it became more successful, the question was no longer whether there should be or not be armed struggle, but how best to wage armed struggle.

ZANU's position is that political struggle within the system is important, but that it is not an end in itself and serves to rouse the people to militant action. It says that armed struggle cannot cease until the people have obtained political power. And gradually, it has enlarged its guerrilla activity until there are whole areas of ' combat zones' in the nation.

The leadership in ZANU asserts that people will take up arms only when they are thoroughly convinced that there is no other way to freedom, convinced through their experience that all other routes fail. Thus ZANU encourages continuous political struggle in order to sustain that conviction, i.e., political struggle creates favorable conditions for the expansion of armed fighting throughout the country.

To accusations that their armed guerilla-like struggle is "terrorism," the Zimbabwe News, ZANU's official publication, replies that it is the millions of Zimbabwe people who live in constant terror and fear. "They are being daily molested, threatened, beaten, for no reason other than that they are potential nationalists. They are being arrested, imprisoned, or detained without trial, or if tried at all, they are tried by racially prejudiced and biased magistrates who rubberstamp arbitrary police decisions. Those arrested are given disproportionate sentences against which they can do nothing. This is what we are fighting to remove from Zimbabwe – we are fighting white terrorism. We are fighting for our rights, and not for privileges."

While the above description may be equally as fitting of South Dakota as Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe situation is obviously different: they are at a stage of national development where they are still in a majority.

At one time, ZANU theorists tried to organize and act in the urban areas, where they were at an extreme disadvantage. Now they have taken the struggle to the countryside and the grassroots populace.

For some time, Smith has maintained that the masses of people were firm in their loyalty for the Rhodesian government, and that all the trouble was being caused by "outsiders". His view was that the Zimbabwe people were either onlookers to the struggle, or opponents of it. Now, however, with the guerrillas moving freely through the countryside and with their numbers growing, he has had to admit that he is faced with a growing revolt.

Zimbabwe analysts say that the U.S. has aided the white Rhodesian government to stay in power. First, it has condemned all forms of violence, such as the ZANU guerrilla activity. " . . . political passion, however deeply held, cannot be a justification for criminal violence against innocent persons," Secretary of State William Rogers told the United Nations last September. And yet the U.S. has continued to openly breach the UN mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia by buying Rhodesian chrome and nickel and other rare minerals in order to help keep Ian Smith's regime afloat.

The Zimbabwe people object to the U.S. position, but they have not been disillusioned. "History has proved that a people who fight for freedom will win against their oppressors. Zimbabwe cannot be an exception," the Zimbabwe News says.

British politicians hope that Smith will reach some settlement so that the Zimbabwe people will want to stay within the British Commonwealth. But as time continues to pass, it seems that even this reminder of imperialism and colonialism may be too much .

The worries are not limited to Rhodesia. The ZANU forces are operating with some link-up with the Frelimo movement fighting in the adjacent Portuguese territory of Mozambique – and there are signs that if they are successful, the struggle will move into South Africa. Already, ZANU fighters are moving into Rhodesia from the black-held regions of Mozambique.

White Rhodesians are trying to keep a stiff upper lip despite the crumbling situation around them. The Salisbury Golf Club has added two new rules since the unrest: "Allows a stroke to be played again if interrupted by gunfire or a sudden explosion." The second rule requires all golfers to carefully examine each green for landmines before putting.

(Thanks to Joseph R.L. Sterne writing in the Baltimore Sun and Charles Taylor writing in the Toronto Globe and Mail, and to the Zimbabwe News.)

"I'M GOING TO HELP MY PEOPLE" TYPES ABOUND IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES, TOO

Lagos, Nigeria, Africa – How do you get them back to Africa once they have seen Paris or New York? That is a growing problem for the underdeveloped countries of Africa who are desperate for skilled man-power to help in the task of nation-building.

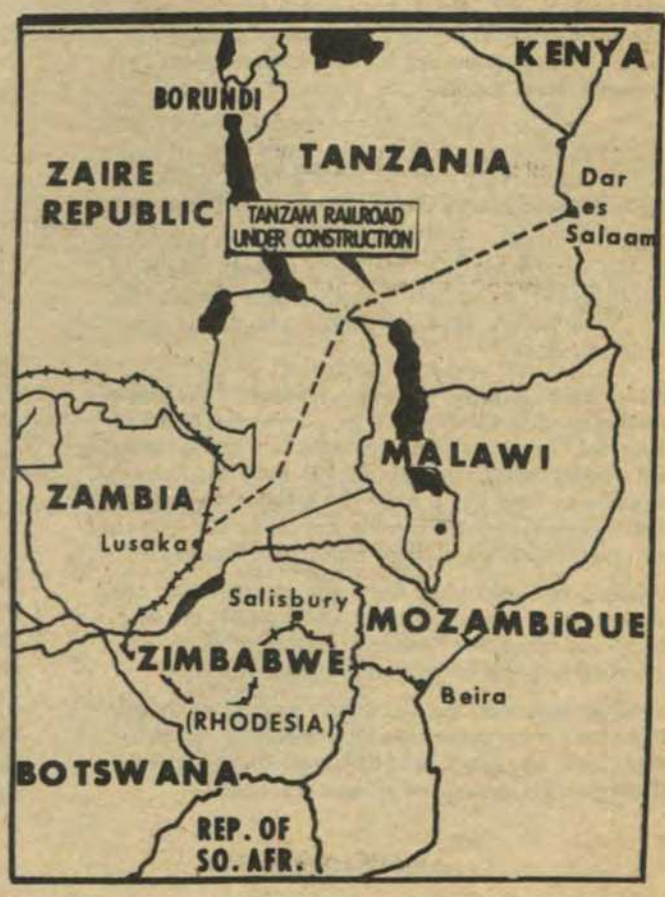
The problem should not be an unfamiliar one to Anishnabeg who pack their kids off to college with the promise that "I'm going to get an education and help my people" – only to find that somehow, they don't get back.

Thousands of Africans trained abroad as doctors, lawyers, engineers and architects or in other professions are refusing to come home. Once overseas, many decide to stay, despite the evidence that they are badly needed back home.

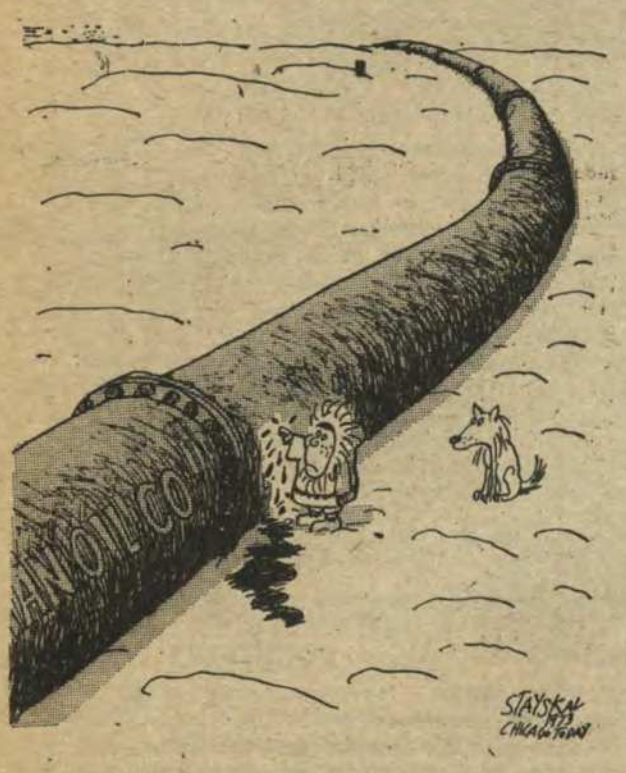
"Why can't they come back?" asked the Sunday Times here in one of a series of articles on the subject. "It is simply because they are unable to scale down their cultural and social lives to the smaller environment of their home towns after spending all the several impressionable years in London, Paris, New York, and elsewhere.

Within their countries, many expatriates say, there is bribery, corruption, favoritism to families of officials, and tribal jealousy. So why bother, they ask? Some argue that working conditions and research facilities are sorely lacking, and complain that the bureaucracies – themselves consuming manpower – seem to deliberately throw up stumbling blocks to private enterprise. Many writers and intellectuals have abandoned their countries to escape political repression, military rule, and the instability that marks some of Africa's coup-weary nations. *(Associated Press)*

(Thanks to Kevin Doyle writing for Canadian Press, to Reuter News Service, and the Associated Press for this information.)



NATIVE BROTHERHOOD OF N.W.T. PUTS FREEZE ON PIPELINE



Yellowknife, NWT – A territorial judge accepted a motion of the Indian Brotherhood of the North West Territories April 3 and imposed a temporary restraining order, or freeze, on all land transactions on a 400,000 square-mile area. The temporary order means that anyone seeking new title to land for any development will have to sign an affidavit acknowledging that should the Indian application for a caveat, or warning, be upheld, the status of those titles could be altered.

The move seemed to be the only way to get the Canadian Government to discuss aboriginal title; until now the government position has been that it will ensure that the native people will prosper with the development of the North, and that no people could ask for more than that.

The legal maneuver came at a time when pipeline consortium attorneys were preparing to take applications to the Canadian Government late this summer to gain a right-of-way. The last thing the oil industry wants is a court battle which would delay them for years.

With the growing energy crisis in the United States, the big petroleum companies are scrambling for new sources of oil and gas. The threat of delay caused by the Brotherhood's bolt from the blue gives that organization impressive bargaining power.

Territorial officials were upset by the move. David Searle, Yellowknife member of the territorial council, said that "It's one thing to try and block the pipeline. I think it's another thing to block all residential and commercial development of land. I think they're going pretty far." He also expressed annoyance that "the government is saying it is prepared to hear the Indians' treaty claims but the Brotherhood hasn't yet advanced those claims."

Tom Butters, another territorial councillor and a president of the Western Arctic delta boom town of Inuvik, said he was worried that the Brotherhood position might frighten away industrialists to other world areas.

"I do not foresee a particularly prosperous time ahead for the people that live here," he worried. "We have a rapidly growing population and we need the jobs for our young people, especially those who do not want to live on the land."

In late April, James WahShee, president of the Indian Brotherhood of the North West Territories, told a House of Commons Committee that "from the research and studies that we have done with over 30 of our old people who were there when the treaties were signed, that they never agreed to cede any land. Land was not even mentioned when those treaties were signed."

WahShee said that while the Brotherhood would continue court action to protect their rights, if the land freeze was lifted, the native people would find "other ways" to stop the construction of the pipelines.

WahShee reminded the Commons committee that it might take them some time to adequately research land claims and needs, and to ensure that the opinion of the peoples in isolated villages was heard.

"Canada does not own the North West Territories, and no amount of political pushing us around will move us, the owners of this land, at a faster pace than we wish to go."

Members of the Commons group, the standing committee on Indian Affairs, told WahShee that the minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, had told them a few weeks ago that 95% of the people of the NWT settlements along the proposed Mackenzie Energy Corridor were in favor of continuing development.

"If the Minister or others consulted negotiators," WahShee retorted, "the consultation may have been with the Elks Club, the Daughters of the Midnight Sun, or the Canadian Legion, but not with the natives."

WahShee said that most efforts to bring government closer to the native people have failed.

"If the present government was truly representative of the majority, then it should be the native people who are the commissioner, assistant and deputy commissioners, heads of departments, and who are in the decision-making positions. Although natives are the majority of territorial residents, very few are ever involved in any major positions with any real power."

The area in dispute includes nearly all the heavily-populated Mackenzie Valley, the Great Slave Lake region, and the oil-rich Western Arctic. Indian Brotherhood lawyer Gerald Sutton pointed out that the caveat does not apply to land for which title has already been issued, and that present landowners would not be affected.

Crucial to the Brotherhood's position is the point that although the writing on the treaties may say surrender of land by native peoples, the signatories to the treaty understood them only to be treaties of peace and friendship. This is the first legal case where native people have reclaimed land which the government claims has been surrendered.

The two treaties in question were signed 1899 and 1921 but the agreements have never been implemented by Ottawa.

In addition to the now-aborted freeze in the Mackenzie area, the Inuit Tapirisat in April asked the Commons Northern Affairs Committee to support its call for a temporary freeze to development throughout Northern Canada.

And, if development is to continue in its present form, with exploration dominated by foreign interests, the Inuit would support a permanent freeze, IT president Tagak Curley said.

In a brief filed with the committee, the Inuit organization was critical of the "obvious conflict of interest" within the Northern Affairs Department's dual responsibility for native peoples, and for northern development.

Curley said the temporary freeze on development would give Inuit needed time to research their land claims, with about one year needed to complete.

Despite these demands of the native people, on May 8 Indian Affairs & Northern Development Minister Jean Chretien said that the federal government does not intend to halt all development in Canada's Arctic and wait until problems of economics and social change have been solved. He added that all the Eskimo people he had met were pretty keen about development, wanted jobs. In fact, he said, there are more Eskimo applicants for jobs on oilcrews than there were jobs available.

The next day, complaining of tokenism, a group of 16 native people walked out of the conference at Churchill, Manitoba, which Chretien was attending. The meeting was discussing the development of the Churchill corridor to the Arctic.

Joe Mercredi, of the Metis Association of the North West Territories interrupted a technical discussion to announce to the 250 assembled experts on transportation and natural resources:

"This meeting means nothing to us. It's for you people with the millions. We're pulling out." Later, Mercredi, who lives at Fort Simpson, told a news conference that the native people are fed up with listening to "these Toronto Eskimos and 24-hour experts on the North."

Al Wilson of Fort Good Hope agreed with Mercredi.

"As far as I'm concerned," Wilson said, "It's cut and dried. We're just here to make a show that they have some Indians here."

The chairman of the project, Dr. V.H. Atrill, said that the Great Plains Project was difficult, and that he couldn't help it if the native people didn't want to stay.

"If the native people want to make the judgment of themselves that they have nothing to offer to the meeting, I can't help that," he said.

ABORIGINAL RIGHTS BATTLES IN CANADA

James Bay: Crees ended a seven-month court battle seeking to stop construction of a $6-billion hydro development. No ruling has been issued on their request for an injunction.

Mackenzie Valley: Native people have obtained a land freeze from the territorial court, halting all development temporarily until there is a ruling on native land rights. Canadian Government is challenging the court's jurisdiction in hearings now underway.

Yukon Territory: A brief from the Yukon native people setting out aboriginal rights is now being negotiated by the Canadian Government, with the hope of obtaining a political, rather than a legal, settlement. A negotiating team has been appointed.

British Columbia: Native people of the province have submitted legal briefs asserting land rights over almost all of the 366,000 square miles of the province, saying they never signed away their rights. Federal and provincial authorities are trying to decide how to respond to the claim.

Earlier in the conference, James Arvaluk, communications director for Inuit Tapirisat had told the conference that his people regard the "devastatingly destructive polluting society" to the south with fear and compassion.

In an eloquent plea for a temporary freeze on northern development until aboriginal land rights are settled by the government, Arvaluk said that in the so-called advanced technological, urban civilization of southern Canada and the United States, his people see a society virtually out of control.

He called it "greedily over-consumptive" and with almost "unmitigated materialistic values." Arvaluk said his people want to participate in development of their land with Inuit values. They are not prepared to stand quietly on the sidelines and accept destruction of their environment and identity, and the loss of "what may well be the last opportunity for a better and different Canada."

The Canadian Government had schemed to minimize native opposition, but it badly underestimated its payoff price. A cabinet document written April 24, 1972, by Jean Chretien, leaked out stating bluntly that the Mackenzie Valley highway was being rushed along "largely to accommodate pipeline timing." He cautioned the cabinet that there would be a "backlash of dissident voices" from environmentalists.

"The reaction of native groups," the memo continues, "is likely to be moderated by the simultaneous announcement concerning Treaties 8 and 11. In any event, the construction of a road does not bring the same kind of reaction from native groups as other developmental activities because of the local benefits it is seen to bring."

But neither enticement seemed to have much moderating effect. For one thing, there apparently was no "simultaneous announcement." In late June, Chretien was saying only that Canada would renew its efforts to negotiate a settlement of treaties 8 and 11, which have not been honored even in part.

The whole show – at the expense of native peoples – seemed to have been calculated primarily to influence investors to select a pipeline route for Alaskan oil via Canada.

The April hearing had been adjourned until May 15. Then, in Yellowknife Brotherhood lawyer Garry Sutton, assisted by Dr. Andrew Thompson, Doug Saunders and Graham Price argued that the native people considered themselves still the owners of the land in question and that the filing of the warning with all land purchasers was only fair notice.

The Canadian Government attorney, Ivan Whitehall, did not want these questions to even be discussed – he argued that the lands in question did in fact belong to the Crown, and that therefore any legal matters about them would have to be heard in Federal Court. He argued that Judge Morrow didn't have any power to have the case heard by him. In fact, he may have shafted himself by his prolonged arguments on the topic, for the Brotherhood attorneys had so little time to present their side of the matter that Judge Morrow had to adjourn court until July, when he promised time for prolonged hearings at various village sites – and in the meantime, the land freeze would continue. A packed public gallery in the stuffy little courtroom witnessed the historic proceedings.

"It certainly is a psychological victory for the Indian people," WahShee said. "This is the first action we've taken legally with respect to land on a large scale, and we're happy with the way things have turned out."

Outside court, Dr. Thompson said the case could affect the National Energy Board hearings to be held later this year, since that agency has maintained that the applicants must show they have a right-of-way for a pipeline, he said.

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The Canadian Government then applied for a writ of prohibition, claiming only the Federal Court of Canada can consider the legal question of aboriginal title. Judge Morrow has been noted for his belief that the law must be applied with consideration to native culture, while the Federal Court generally acts as a strict interpreter of existing law.

Unlike the American Supreme Court, the Canadian court can only consider questions of law, for there is no Canadian Constitution to use as a reference point for philosophical insight.

On June 21, however – known as the Indian Day of Prayer in Canada – the Justice Department came under heavy criticism for stopping the hearing of the native claims in the Territorial Supreme Court. In the House of Commons, Wally Firth told his colleagues there was widespread resentment in the North that the federal government had interfered.

Former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker called the incident "the unusual if not the only case in Canadian history in which a government has interfered to prevent the consideration of a case by applying for a writ of prohibition." Diefenbaker asked Justice Minister Otto Lang to back down from his position, restoring responsibility to the government, and fairness to the Indians.

Firth's motion asking that the House of Commons reaffirm its confidence in the Supreme Court of the North West Territories was defeated when it failed to get unanimous consent.

When the tack of the government's case became known it was sharply questioned in the House of Commons. Flora MacDonald suggested that the competence of the NWT Court was being questioned, but Justice Minister Otto Lang said the government applied to stop the proceedings only because claims against the Crown can be dealt with only in federal court.

Nevertheless, Justice Morrow said he planned proceed with his hearings – and as well, the Federal Court which is scheduled to sit in the North this summer may also hear the case.

By even talking about native claims, the Native Brotherhood caused international economic and political repercussions. Senator Stevens raised the matter on the floor of the Senate June 27, pointing out that there would be long delays to any Canadian pipeline as the land dispute was settled. He quoted WahShee's speech to the Fifth International Congress of Arctic Studies in LeHavre, France on May 4. Native militancy and legal battles meant that the U.S. must pursue an Alaskan-routed pipeline, he said.

HIGH COST OF LIVING AND LOW AGE OF DYING CONCERNS TERRITORIAL COUNCIL AND HEALTH OFFICIALS AS PROGRESS SPREADS IN THE NORTH

During the council session June 12, Eastern Arctic member Bryan Pearson charged that residents of isolated settlements relying on the annual sea-lift for food and building materials are being "blackmailed" by "pirate" shipping firms. He accused the Territorial Government of sitting idly by and watching the people of the North getting gouged.

The Territorial Government contracts with shiplines sailing from Montreal to bring in supplies – for instance building material going to Griese Fiord cost $1,842 a ton, while groceries cost $323 a ton. Pearson said he believed Boeing 747 jumbo-jets could carry freight in at $100 a ton, with landings on heavy mid-winter sea ice. 27 communities rely on the summer sea-lift for supplies.

The heavy shipping costs have had a positive environmental effect, however – native people are finding that snowmobiles may cost $900 annually to operate, while a dog-team costs only about $12. Dog teams are now rare, but more and more, people are talking about going back to using them. At Griese Fiord, 16 hunters must search 100,000 square miles to feed the 96 village residents.

The higher costs of snowmobiles have meant that hunters cannot support themselves any longer, and the Canadian Government must supply make-work jobs, like collecting the garbage from the village's 16 homes, or acting as janitor for the school teacher, or moving the garbage pile.

Another example of how close the North is getting to Western society is the pollution problem. Fears of growing pollution in Hudson Bay prompted the Territorial Council last winter to start discussions with the provinces and the federal government. Chemicals put into north-flowing rivers were found to be harmful to northern peoples, as well as polar bears, beluga whales migratory birds, and other species.

Disease in North Blamed on Whites

Dr. H. Brian Brett, northern regional director of medical services for the Canadian Government's Department of Health and Welfare, told an International Hospital Federation Congress in Montreal June 19 that death and disease afflict northern native peoples much more severely than Canadians as a whole – largely because of the invasion of white culture.

Indian and Inuit infants die at rates four and five times higher than either Canadian infants generally, or white infants in the north. Infant mortality rates for 1971 were 18.8 per 1,000 live births in Canada as a whole, but 79.5 for Indians, 97.8 for Eskimos, and 19.6 for "others" living in the north.

And the tuberculosis rate is as high as in "undeveloped countries" of Asia, Africa, and South America, Dr. Brett told the group. He said that dental decay is "ravaging the population" in strong contrast to the "universally healthy state of teeth seen before native people were introduced to white man's diet."

But the main cause of death is no longer infections such as influenza or tuberculosis – now it is death by violent causes: suicide, homicide, motor vehicle accidents, accidental wounds, alcohol poisoning. Dr. Brett said that now there were cases of child abuse in the north, something "completely foreign to the Eskimo culture of a decade ago."

Another problem which has been brought to the North is venereal disease. Almost one of three males between 20 and 24 has been infected by gonorrhea, says an official June government report. Syphilis, however, is almost non-existent. The greatest victims are Inuits, with 45 per cent of reported cases.

Some of the northern health problems can be traced to inadequate housing in northern settlements and to the government policy about housing. Recently, Bryan Pearson said that he was afraid to wash his face when he was visiting some native homes in the Eastern Arctic because the water would freeze on him.

Pearson told of seven people living in a house 11x20, with doors that did not close and windows that did not fit, and ice on the inside walls. He said that Frobisher Bay had the highest TB rate in the world, and that the hospitals are full of sick children.

Frobisher Bay commonly has temperatures ranging to 65 below zero, when exposed flesh freezes in 60 seconds.

Many of the "shacks" Pearson referred to have been built as government housing. "We've been building plywood shacks for 15 years and we are still building them," he charged. At Pangirtung where houses were destroyed in a wind storm, he said, people were still living in tents – the storm occurred two years ago.

Pearson accused the Canadian Government of planning to build a multimillion dollar administrative building in Yellowknife while families in the eastern Arctic were living in shacks that the wind blew through. He reported that some Inuit families were living in similar shacks at Cape Dyer, a DEW-line station, reportedly one of the technical wonders of the century. But the Inuit homes have no windows, only one exit, and are very fragile considering that when Pearson visited there, the winds were 97 miles per hour and it was 40 below zero.

(Thanks to Steve Hume of the Edmonton Journal for this info.)

(Thanks to Canadian Press and Zoe Bieler of the Montreal Star)

GOVERNMENT RESEARCHER QUITS JOB IN ORDER TO HELP NATIVE PEOPLE

Ottawa, Canada – A government researcher whose report on oil exploration on Banks Island in the Arctic warned of dangers to the Eskimo has announced that he has left the Northern Affairs Department to work for Inuit Tapirisap, an Inuit organization whose aim is to protect native rights.

Dr. Peter Usher, in a report published by the Northern Affairs Department of the Canadian Government warned that the oil work could result in the end of a prosperous trapping industry. Northern Development (and Indian Affairs) Minister Jean Chretien said that Dr. Usher's report was "stupid" and an example of shabby research.

In a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation interview January 22, Dr. Usher said he hadn't been allowed to travel to northern Canada on government business since his report was made public. Nor had Chretien or his staff talked to him about the report.

Usher said he had written memos to the minister outlining his views that despite statements that the government priorities in the north are native rights and the protection of the environment, the government has leaned heavily on development. He said he believes that senior public servants in the department are making decisions before the minister is aware of them, and that they tend to believe jobs and benefits from development are the answer to northern Canada's problems.

Thanks to the Canadian press for

HANDLING OF DEAD BODIES SCORED BY ALBERTA NATIVES AFTER INCIDENTS

Edmonton, Alberta – Native people in northern Alberta have learned to live with the knowledge that the body of a loved one may be returned to them from a hospital in a cardboard box for burial.

But what they have not accepted – and never will – is the condition of the bodies, a public health nurse who works in a small native settlement told reporters in May.

Following disclosure that an Edmonton hospital returned the body of a three-month old baby girl to its native mother in a cardboard box, and that an autopsy had been performed without the mother's permission, other instances of similar situations have been reported.

Sue Rattray, a nurse at Wabasca, 170 air miles north of Edmonton, said that her patients wanted "to have bodies washed and then fixed up so the wounds aren't gaping when the coffin or box is opened." She said that the custom of Wabasca is for the bodies of the deceased to be displayed on the dining room table of a home for three days following death.

In the most recent instance, where Lillian Many Bears received her daughter in a grocery box, the condition of the body could best be described as awful, the nurse said.

She also told of the situation of Josephine Auger, who reported that the body of her baby was returned following an autopsy in an Edmonton hospital still covered with blood, and with his internal organs contained in a plastic bag on his chest.

"She's pregnant again, and in great fear," Ms. Rattray said. "She still sees that child."

In another case, the brother of an Indian woman on the Big Stone Reserve near Wabasca was burned to death, and his body was returned in a coffin.

"She was told not to open the coffin, but this is not their way," Ms. Rattray said. "When it was opened, she found her brother's body stark naked, except for a sock on one foot, and a coat covering the body and face. His feet were at the head of the casket, toward the cross, which is against their custom."

As a result of the disclosures, the Alberta Provincial Government has ordered an investigation into the handling of bodies. In the legislature, Health Minister Neil Crawford took pains to say that the situation was not one of discrimination against native people.

"White people as well as native people have been shipped home in boxes in Alberta," he explained.

James Bay: Crees Resist Quebec's Version Of 'The Great Flood'

"An Indian once told a priest, 'My father . . . you have told me that heaven is very beautiful. Tell me now one more thing: is it more beautiful than the country, or the musk ox in summer when sometimes the mist blows over the lakes and sometimes the water is blue and the loons cry very often? That is beautiful, and if heaven is still more beautiful, my heart will be glad, and I shall be content to rest there until I am very old."

– quoted by Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau April 8, 1972, at the National Newspaper Awards dinner in Toronto in an appeal to protect Canada's beauty.

– photo by George Legrady

A man of the Cree Nation at James Bay . . . will he sink or swim?

Fort George, Quebec – A confrontation no less bitter than Wounded Knee, but waged on a different stage, is being debated throughout eastern Canada, and indirectly, could have broad economic repercussions in the U.S.

At issue is a massive hydro-electric project in northern Quebec, threatening profound changes in the lives of 6,000 Cree people who have never given up the land on which construction has already begun.

The completed project will supply electricity equivalent to the installed power in the entire United States at the beginning of World War II.

When the second phase of the project begins, it will mean raising the level of the biggest lake, Mistassini, by 40 feet, and thus displacing some 1500 native people in the community there.

The multi-billion dollar development, planned by the Quebec provincial government, would harness the flow of five major rivers that empty into James Bay. The first phase of the project is scheduled for completion in 1984 at a cost of nearly $6-billion, and involves only one of the five rivers, the LaGrande, which lies in the northernmost part of the area, and into which part of the flow of three smaller rivers will be diverted by an 80-mile netwo of more than 200 dikes.

This part of the project alone, which involves building four dams and powerhouses, will flood 3,500 square miles of prime lands occupied by wildlife, on whom the Cree depend for their existence. The net result is to be 8.3 million kilowatts of power.

Until Washington state's 9.8 million kilowatt Grand Coulee Dam is expanded in the 1990s, the James Bay development will rank as the largest hydro-electric power project in the world.

In addition, airports and airstrips are being built, construction has started on 600 miles of road to open up the area, the possibility of building harbors is being studied, mining projects are being planned, and tourism will be encouraged, all in a territory covering 135,000 square miles (about the size of the whole of the British Isles) – and completely belonging to the Crees.

About 1200 full time workers are employed on $100-million worth of contracts paving the way for the total $10-billion project. They are in addition to the men working on the hydro project itself.

An Indian/environmentalist coalition says it hopes to shut off the flow of capital to the project by calling on potential investors in both Canada and the U.S. to try to discourage them from putting up their money for the development.

Another citizens' group, the James Bay Committee, has called for an immediate halt to all work on the Bay hydro development project pending a full-scale public inquiry into its costs and benefits.

The group also wants a public referendum as to whether the project should be allowed to continue.

"The aura of secrecy and ambiguity" that has surrounded the project since its inception " is intolerable ", the group maintains. "It is totally irresponsible of the Government of Quebec to proceed with this project without first clearly informing the taxpayers who is to bear the enormous costs . . and who is to reap the benefits."

The group believes that the main beneficiaries will be American consumers of electricity, and other foreign interests hoping to extract minerals and petroleum gas resources for the American market once the project opens communications and roads in the area.

The recently-notorious IT&T, reported to be in a scandalous relationship with the U.S. Government is involved. Its subsidiary, Rayonier Corporation, has been granted total rights for fifteen years to a 52,000 square mile area on Quebec's north shore near James Bay. The Quebec Government will even build in a road to serve IT&T's interests. Royalties on wood have been cut to 50 cents a cord, as compared to the $3.00 per cord which local firms must pay. Worse yet for Quebec residents who have been led to believe they will benefit: the production of cloth and other synthetic goods from the pulp will be carried on in Europe and the U.S. And IT&T is only one of the many American firms involved.

Disputes within the project itself threatened it for a time, but then Pierre Nadeau resigned as president of the James Bay Energy Corporation, to be replaced by Robert A. Boyd, a Hydro-Quebec commissioner. The conflict represented vastly differing financial interests: Hydro-Quebec people favor giving the lucrative contracts for the project to American firms, and H-Q people are suspected of favoring an independent Quebec Nation. Nadeau is said to represent interests in the Anglo-Canadian community and it is true that he favored giving contracts to Quebec interests, most of which are owned by English-speaking Canadians. Nadeau was formerly a vice-president of Industrial Acceptance Corporation, a finance company.

Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller has said that the bank would give serious consideration if asked to lend funds to the project.

Money may buy disaster. A scientist at the Ecology Laboratory of the Bedford Institute of Oceanography in Halifax, Nova Scotia, says the project could cause temperature changes in certain parts of Quebec, bringing longer winters for that area. He points out that the dams planned for the LaGrande River will cut down the flow of fresh water into the salt water of James Bay during the spring break-up, causing the ice to remain longer. However, the scientist, Mr. Dickie, says he is optimistic that engineers have the technology to overcome such problems.

But the Sierra Club strongly opposes the project, and has published a book subtitled, "The Plot to Drown the North Woods." Pierre Dansereau, professor of ecology at the University of Quebec in Montreal, says that world temperatures could be pushed upward by the combined effects of James Bay, mass clearing of the Amazon rain forests in Brazil, and other major developments. This, he says, could alter the world's heat budget, melting the polar ice caps, raising the levels of the oceans, and submerging large sections of coastal land.

(continued on next page)

CHEAP POLITICS BY OTTAWA IS A SHAMEFUL EVASION OF RESPONSIBILITY

(This commentary on the James Bay situation was written by Doris Shackleton, a columnist for the Ottawa Journal. It appeared May 30, 1973.)

. . . There is no question that [the Canadian Government] is staying out of the [James Bay controversy] because it doesn't want to annoy Premier Bourassa [of Quebec]. They are playing a rather despicable form of cheap politics.

They are financing the legal costs of the united Indian-Eskimo group that is trying valiantly to stall the work of the James Bay Development Corporation. Even while the court hearings drag on to secure an injunction the woods are being ravaged. What real chance have the Crees and Eskimo to win their case? Would you like to lay a bet with your favorite bookie?

For the federal government to give the native group funds to mount such an unequal legal battle is like sending the kids out to hold off the bombers with their little slingshots. It's a shameful evasion of responsibility.

For the federal government does have a great responsibility in the area. It's not only a very grave matter to introduce so much foreign capital into the country. . . It's also of vital consequence to the environment of Canada, which is a federal matter, and to the native people of Canada, who are unmistakably within the constitutional jurisdiction of Ottawa. . .

To ask a few Cree Indians, whose way of life is in total jeopardy, to go to bat for the rest of us, is one of the least admirable acts perpetrated by this federal government. . .

JAMES BAY

The same old story (so they say)
Is going on around James Bay
In Canada, above the U.S.A.
Things haven't changed that much, you know
And those who slaughtered buffalo
Now practice more sophisticated ways.
I hear the rationalization
That they must flood a whole Cree Nation
To bring what's left of them a brighter day.
They drown a little wildlife here
Destroy a little plantlife there –
When white men gamble, Indians must pay.
Live better now, Electric Cree
Be thankful they elected me.
Your land will be a scenic waterway;
White tourists soon will boat and bathe
Above your fathers' sacred graves
Unless you take some action right away.

– Bob Bacon

We Dont Want Our Relatives Buried Under Water!

(continued from previous page)

The hearings closed June 21 – setting a new record for the length of a Superior Court injunction hearing. Justice Malouf gave no final date for handing down his judgment, but analyzing the voluminous evidence, including more than 10,000 pages of transcript, is expected to take some time.

James Bay lawyers had contended that the native people were not entitled to a hearing of their claims, since they had no property rights in the area. However, Justice Malouf said a study of jurisprudence and of the province's history, as well as numerous treaties showed that the federal government recognized they did have certain rights.

"Our traditional way of life will be affected," Chief Billy Diamond told the court. We found that the slashing of the trees off the land and the removal of the topsoil for the airstrips and roads have ruined places where there once were beaver lodges."

Chief Diamond narrated a 30-minute videotape which was taken from a low-flying seaplane last June. Permission to show the tape came from Justice Malouf only after a heated 45-minute exchange among the eight attorneys for both sides. It showed construction camps, heavy-duty road bulldozers, cranes, and graders working on a road that would cut the Rupert band's hunting grounds almost in half.

John Watt, an Inuit of Fort Chimo, said his family has fish maybe 300 days of the year. The most important river for the fishing was the Koksoak – and the planned development would redirect the flow of its principal tributary. Even in years of low rainfall, fishing can be difficult, the ice lasts longer, and travel by canoe is difficult.

Watt said the Hudson's Bay Co. store supplies him with very little – flour, salt, lard, baking powder, tea and sugar. This is what he calls "store food." The rest is "country food."

Percentage is a foreign term to Watt, so counsel for the Inuit, Robert Litvack, held up his hands to illustrate the question. "Suppose all my fingers are all the food you eat," he said. "How many fingers are store food and how many are country food?" Watt estimated nine fingers would represent the country food he eats. Asked if game was plentiful, he replied, "There isn't plenty of it, but it provides the people just right."

Steven Tapiatak, a 50-year-old hunter of the small Hudson's Bay trading post community of Fort George, testified that the James Bay hydro project could possibly wipe out the entire fish and game supply for the 500 of his people there who depend upon that.

He described the last sixty miles of the LaGrande River before it flows into James Bay as a rich hunting, fishing and trapping area. "I have always been fishing at the first rapids," he told Justice Malouf.

The first rapids, "a three-hour trip by canoe from the settlement in calm water and no wind" is the favorite summer fishing area for the Fort George band. The average fish net contains 400 fish – whitefish, Arctic char, trout – Tapiatak said through interpreter Ted Moses.

Another three-hour canoe trip up the LaGrande River are the second rapids, where fishing is just as good. Between the two are areas of shoreline where hunters and trappers get rabbit, ptarmigan, porcupine, bear, beaver, mink, lynx, squirrel.

The James Bay Development Corporation would flood the two sets of rapids, along with several hundred square miles of shoreline just in its first phase of construction.

On December 14, Matthew Shanush, 61-year-old chief of the Eastmain Cree band, told the court that his mother and five of his children are buried on the banks of the Eastmain River or along traplines near the river.

"We do not want the bodies to be under water," he told the judge, Superior Court Justice Albert Malouf.

Diamond also testified that the project would make his area more accessible to the Canadian public and that the resulting influx of people would eventually destroy his culture.

"I tried to live in the south – in Val d'Or and Quebec City – but there is always a need to be next to the wilderness," he said. "An Indian can't relax in the city. In the wilderness, the mind and the body can find release."

Shanush, in cross-examination by James Bay Development Corporation lawyer Jacques Lebel, said that his people subsist mainly on "country food" – the animals they hunt, trap, or fish.

He said that the only food the Cree bought from stores at Eastmain were "flour, lard, coffee, tea, and sugar." He said his people trap beaver, fox, otter and mink and hunt big game such as caribou, bear, and moose. Asked by Lebel which animals the Crees ate, Chief Shanush replied: "We eat whatever we kill."

Lebel also wanted to know whether Indians used outboard motors to go to their traplines and snowmobiles to hunt big game such as caribou.

The chief replied that most Indians paddled to their traplines because "many traplines are 100 miles from Eastmain settlement, and you need much gas for the motor. You cannot eat gas so most Indians prefer to paddle and bring more supplies." He said few Indians use snowmobiles for hunting "because the noise scares the game and they cannot maneuver in dense bush."

Chief Shanush told of the destruction by a road building crew of a cache of hunting supplies belonging to an Eastmain band hunter.

"Are you aware that the hunter was compensated?" corporation lawyer Jacques LeBel asked.

"I am aware of the compensation. But it was nothing compared to what he would have obtained . . . from those traps."

Chief Shanush said there was another matter bothering him about the flooding.

"My people have relatives buried on their traplines along the Eastmain River. Even myself. I have five children who are buried all along the river and on the trapline. My mother is buried there also. . . We do not want to see them buried under water."

LeBel asked Chief Shanush if he thought the buried dead would be any worse off.

"I am against this project and my people are too," the chief answered.

– photo by George Legrady

sported close-cropped hair, parkas, and mukluks protected by rubber overshoes.

Diamond had been organizing opposition to the project from the day he first heard of it over a CBC radio news program. The announcer had said that his homes and his land would be flooded for a power project. He had travelled through the affected areas with Philip Awashish, a Cree from the Lake Mistassinin Reserve, meeting with councils and band members to explain what was going to happen.

Finally, in April, 1972, in a series of meetings, approval was given to take legal action to stop the project.

By the closing days of the hearing, it seemed, everyone had forgotten just what it was they were discussing. Whether the native peoples of James Bay did or did not have any rights on their land was not discussed so much as the power needs of Quebec, and the best ways to fill those needs.

"Money will come and go. But the animals, the food, the country – if we lose them, we lose them forever. And we lose ourselves." *– Chief Josie Sam*

Hunting, fishing, and trapping are part of the daily life of some James Bay Cree women, too, Mrs. Sally Matthew testified in the hearings. She is 40 years of age, and during the summer, she takes her eight children in an 18-foot canoe up the Fort George River to the first rapids.

During the winter, the women set nets and hooklines under the ice and hunt the rabbits along the shoreline, she said.

Diamond said in his community, families take their dogs and sleds inland by airplane to their family hunting grounds. They hunt caribou and moose and trap beaver until the spring. In the spring, to save money, they head home on snowshoes instead of by plane. The mother carries her children on her back for the 70 to 90 mile trek. Heavy equipment and the winter's catch are loaded on the sled, which the father may help pull in addition to carrying a pack on his back. Everything that is caught is used, Chief Diamond said.

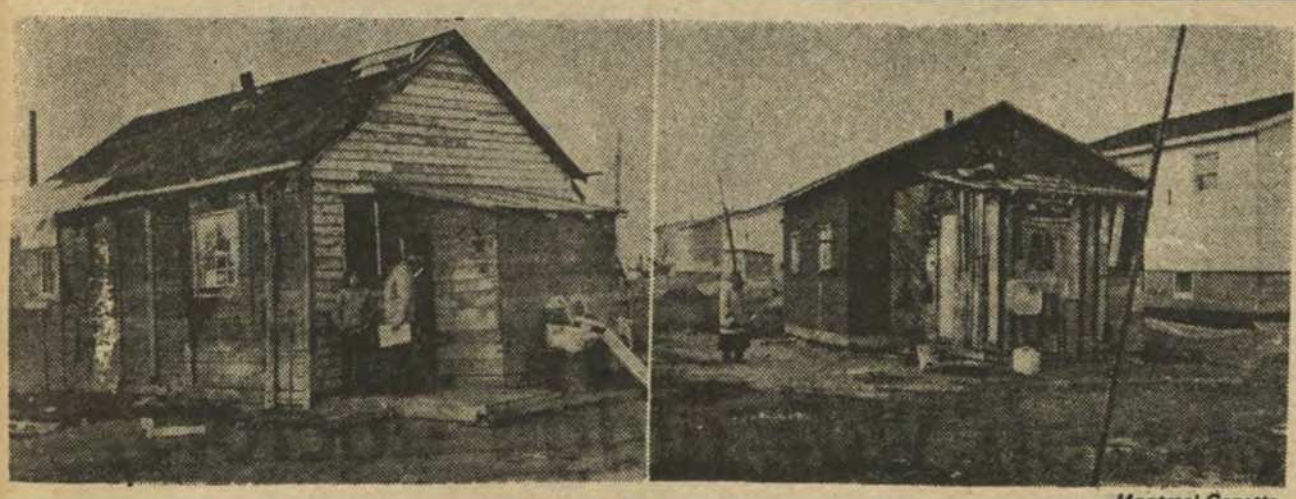
Bulldozers, trucks, planes and helicopters have already caused one native village – Nemiscau – to scatter. Some of the 120 residents moved to Rupert House, and others to Great Whale. They were upset with the reports of surveyors and construction workers who went there in the summer of 1970.

There were about 50 or so Indians and Eskimos who filled the modernistic, carpeted court room. Many had made long journeys from their isolated communities in northern Quebec for the hearings. The youths dressed in mod clothes with headbands, while their elders

Jean Boulanger, acting for Hydro-Quebec, said in his closing argument that the new roads would give trappers easier access to their territories. Development of the region would produce jobs, and residents would be the first to benefit. Indigenous culture cannot be protected through legislation, he continued, but racial pride and tribal spirit would be sufficient to protect the Indian from white influence.

James O'Reilly closed by bringing the basic issues back into focus: the real issue is whether the native people have ancestral title to their land, he said. He contended that aboriginal rights were spelled out clearly in the 1912 Quebec Border Extension Act, which gave the province control over the 435,000 square miles formerly chartered to the Hudson's Bay Company.

If it is of any comfort, Canada will be spending millions of dollars in a U.S. project to monitor any widespread ecological damage via a satellite known as ERTS. It is acknowledged that the James Bay project could bring about drastic changes in weather, melting of polar ice, and massive irreversible damage to the huge area. Man, white man, may bring about his own extinction as well as taking other human beings to their collective deaths. Then ERTS, making its lonely orbits around the earth, transmitting pictures to monitors on a humanless earth, will be a last mute witness.



–Montreal Gazette

Arctic blizzards slam into these Fort George homes seven months a year

There is profound irony in the fact that some of the most thoughtful members of the white civilization are beginning to think like the Indians in relation to what they want to do with their lives. There is a sense in which Western civilization has gone full circle and is now returning to attitudes which were left behind many hundreds of years ago. One could even say that if what is good *about the cycle of Western growth is to be retained, we shall have to jettison what is now proven not only foolish, but anti-human and anti-nature. Learning how to do this is our problem.*

– Manas

Yukon Chiefs Present Land Claims

Whitehorse, Yukon Territory
Chiefs of native groups in the Yukon presented Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau with a 250-page brief May 7, detailing their land claims. The basic demand was not for retention of the land in native control, but for cash compensation, as well as a share of mineral, forestry and petroleum royalties in the future. The Yukon Native Brotherhood suggested that $100-million over a 10-year period would be fair compensation for "losses we have suffered in the past."

Trudeau announced that a government negotiation team would be appointed to work out recommendations for Canada to follow.

The prime minister's move could be interpreted to mean that Canada acknowledges that the Yukon native people do have aboriginal rights, although they do not have a treaty. But it also appeared that Canada intended to settle claims for those rights with cash, rather than with a new treaty agreement. There are 3200 "registered Indians" in the Yukon, as well as Inuit and non-status native peoples.

Earlier, the Trudeau Government has pretended that aboriginal rights do not exist. This shift may have been motivated by the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Canada on the claims of the British Columbia native people which indicated much stronger-than-usual acknowledgement of native rights, as well as the faster pace of exploration now going on in the north, exploration which could be tied up by litigation of native claims.

The problems of the non-status native people are expected to be the most difficult to solve. "In 1941, the American Army moved in to build the Alaska Highway; there was much money and jobs for any Indian who wanted to leave the bush," the brief to the prime-minister said. "Thirty thousand white men with no women of their own further changed the percentage of the blood of many Indian children." Under Canadian law, those children do not qualify for registry as "Indians" and therefore are considered to have no native rights.

Industrial development seems to be taking precedence in the Yukon. A proposal to set aside a preserve of beautiful terrain as the Kluane National Park, for instance, was denounced by former minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Arthur Laing, who said that the area is one of the richest mineral-producing areas and that the Yukon could never live on tourism. Senator David Walker has called for a moratorium on the determination of boundaries for the park until a complete and independent study could be carried out in the area.

Elijah Smith has been firm in expressing the native position. "You ask about our stand," he told a newsman. "We reject the pipeline, we reject the Kluane Park, we reject power developments until such time as the government recognizes the Indian's aboriginal rights." And he added that because officials don't understand native languages, "they don't understand how hostile the Indians are."

If Indian Affairs officials are truly the trustees of native interests, one would assume they would be supporting the native stance.

But A.B. Yates, who is director of northern economic development branch of the Department of Indian Affairs, says, "The press of the needs of Canada, North America and the world can't be held up awaiting the needs of a very small minority."

In the past several months, the Yukon Native Brotherhood has opposed all new development in the area until native claims had been settled. It appeared, for instance, at a Territorial Water Board hearing to oppose construction of a hydro-electric plant at Aishihik Lake/Otter Falls in the western Yukon, a project that would cause the native village at Champagne/Aishihik to be moved without compensation.

The position of the Yukon natives was different from the legalistic stance of other native groups. The Yukon people are not bothering much with proving that they have aboriginal rights – they just say they do, and then set forth their demands. Other groups have chosen a tougher, if less practical stand of demanding recognition of ownership upon which negotiation of demands can be based.

The Yukon stance gears in nicely with Ottawa thinking – "The approach you have taken here is very welcome to the Government," Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau told the delegates who came to Ottawa for the "historic" February 14 meeting. "I want to state publicly today my strong support for the approach you took."

The brief presented said that any person of 25% or more native blood should be considered a native entitled to participate in the settlement. That would include non-status persons who are excluded now from federal recognition by definition in the Indian Act.

The Yukon demands call for a tax-free cash settlement, royalties in perpetuity on oil and natural gas and mineral resources, and a temporary land-freeze to permit native selection of lands to which they would hold full title in perpetuity.

With the Supreme Court decision on the Nishga case giving some reality to aboriginal rights, and with the current delays in getting the pipeline through Alaska, the Canadian Government is anxious to move fast to get any obstacles removed before pushing through a Canadian alternative to transportation of Alaskan oil.

The tour of native villages by the negotiating teams didn't get under way until June 8, after Chief Elijah Smith and the native team refused to board the tour aircraft. It seemed that Councillor Hilda Watson, an outspoken opponent of negotiations, had been substituted for Yukon Commissioner James Smith just before takeoff time.

On the advice of other Canadian representatives, Indian Affairs Minister ordered Commissioner Smith, a public servant, to join the tour and the trip got underway.

The primary intention of the tour is to help the federal team become familiar with the native villages. Also, the stage will be set for more detailed sessions later. While the dispute is between native peoples and the Canadian government, participation of the Yukon Government is believed vital to a peaceable settlement. The Yukon settlement of native claims is seen in Ottawa as a precedent for settling claims of non-treaty native people in other provinces.

(Thanks to Canadian Press, the Montreal Gazette and the Toronto Globe and Mail for this information.)

INDIAN AFFAIRS YOUTH PROGRAM UNDER ATTACK FROM ALL SIDES

Ottawa, Ontario – A program to hire young native leaders by the Department of Indian Affairs is coming under attack from all sides.

Many native people see the program as a means of co-opting leaders, wooing them into a false life-style, and alienating them from their own people. Employees of the Department claim that these young people coming into the bureaucracy will sabotage the work of the agency.

One Department official, who refused to be named, said the Department has hired at inflated wages "kids without skills, largely Company of Young Canadian-types [Canada's VISTA program], Wounded Knee sympathizers, and university students who know little about the problems of the Indians."

John Ciaccia, deputy minister of Indian Affairs, said the criticism from "power-hungry Indian politicians" and "idiots in the Indian Affairs Department" could cause the $800,000 experiment to flop. He said it was designed to help young people on reserves.

"This is what happens every time we try to do anything new in this department," Ciaccia said. "I get the backlash from the idiots in the department who hate Indians, and I also get it from the Indian politicians who see anything we do as a threat to their power base." He said these views were "moronic."

Ciaccia said the department has hired 33 "youth workers" – 28 native persons, four whites, and one black – at salaries between $10,000 and $11,000, on a one-year contract basis.

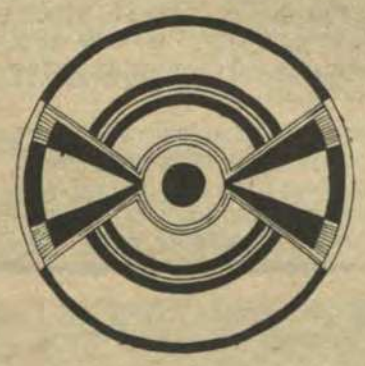
They are supposed to travel to reserves to "determine the problems of young Indians and suggest solutions which can be tied into existing programs." Ciaccia said that the new staff are "young and eager and while it may be true that they sometimes get over-eager and go barging on to a reserve to talk to people without arranging it with the chief first, they are definitely not radicals."

Andrew Rickard, a member of the Grand Council of Treaty Number Nine, which represents 11,000 native people in northwestern Ontario, said the program will duplicate studies the bands are already making, decrease the power of local Indian organizations, and tighten the control exercised by Indian Affairs.

"We have trouble getting funds for anything we try to do on our own, but there never seems to be any problem when Indian Affairs wants to send outsiders without consulting us," Rickard said.

Ciaccia disagreed with Rickard, but did say that attitudes within his Department "by a high proportion of Indian Affairs people who resist any attempt to change the department" has made many native persons suspicious of and disillusioned with government programs.

"Many employees are afraid of losing their jobs if more autonomy is given to Indians, and we still have employees who simply haven't the mental capacity to deal with people of a different culture."



Ciaccia's outspoken comments only sharpened the ire of those he criticized. The National Indian Brotherhood demanded his immediate resignation, and sait it had been unable to get details of the program. Also, it said, it had been established without Indian consultation.

But Ciaccia's boss, Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien, told the House of Commons June 30 he had no intention of firing his assistant deputy minister. He said that the job of running Indian Affairs was a tough one and he was lucky to have a man as good as Ciaccia in the slot.

(Thanks to Canadian Press for their June 27 article.)

NATIVE COLLEGE IN A CONVERTED ARMY CAMP IN QUEBEC SHOWS PROMISE

La Macaza, Quebec – A native educational centre will open this autumn in a former Armed Forces base that once housed Bomarc missiles.

Inappropriately titled "Manitou College", it will draw its student body from Indians, Inuit, and Metis in Eastern Canada. The site was purchased by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

The college is operated by the Native North American Studies Institute, a native-controlled organization with a board of directors that includes representatives from the Indians of Quebec Association, several Quebec universities, and four native students.

Residences are available for married as well as single students. There is an 18-or-over age requirement, but there is no maximum age and no minimum academic requirement.

Courses will range from an academic program aimed at preparing a student for university entrance, to vocational and para-professional classes. About 350 students are expected to enroll.

Sources close to the school say that efforts to have the school truly serve native people are hampered by administrative chaos coupled with disputes over control between white middle-class oriented persons and native oriented value-holders.

Students will be housed in ordinary homes, four to a house. The site of the college is a beautiful spot with lakes in the Laurentian Mountains. There are recreational facilities for most sports, including skiing and a nine-hole golf course.

The site was built about 11 years ago at a cost of about $60-million. It is located 100 miles northwest of Montreal. The Indian Affairs Department purchased it for a mere $500,000. The Department also has given an initial grant of $250,000 to get the program underway.

Prospective students and others wanting information on the new college should contact Native North American Studies Institute, 2050 Boul. de Maisonneuve, West, Suite 202, Montreal, 108, Quebec, or telephone (514) 933-7360.

(Thanks to Guy Demaring of Southam News Service and to the Toronto Globe and Mail for its June 30 article.)

TIME IMMEMORIAL, OR ROYAL PREROGATIVE?

SUPREME COURT OF CANADA SPLITS DOWN THE MIDDLE ON ABORIGINAL RIGHTS CLAIM OF NISHGA COUNCIL

Nishga Nation (British Columbia) — The question of aboriginal rights remains a burning issue following the rejection by the Supreme Court of Canada January 31 of land claims by the Nishga Nation against British Columbia.

The Nishgas -- who have never signed a treaty with whites — claim title to 4800 square miles of land in northern British Columbia. The case was regarded as a landmark test of native peoples' claims across Canada to lands stolen from them during the colonization of North America.

Of the seven judges who heard the case in Ottawa, three upheld the Nishga claim, arguing in part that the longtime occupation of the Nass Valley was itself proof of ownership, and that the title of native people was recognized in George III's Royal Proclamation of 1763, which forbade private persons to buy Indian lands, and said native people should not be disturbed on their lands "not ceded to us."

Three judges turned down the appeal, saying that the Nishgas were not covered by the Royal Proclamation since their lands hadn't even been "discovered" in 1783, and that the Nishgas had come under British "control" only after the 1846 treaty of Oregon signed by Britain with the United States, a treaty which does not mention native rights.

The seventh — and deciding — judge also voted against the claim on a "technical detail" that there was no provision in British Columbia law for the province to be sued without its permission.

D. McK. Brown, counsel for the province, had argued that a declaration of title by the Nishgas had no practical consequences, since there was no way of recognizing their declaration under British/Canadian law.

Justice Minister Otto Lang promised that the Canadian Government would seek to have the technical problems in the case remedied so that the matter could be referred back to the Supreme Court for a decision on the merits of the case. Also, two justices did not participate in the ruling because of illness.

Attorneys for the Nishgas threatened to take the case to the World Court at the Hague if they were unable to get a favorable decision within the Canadian system. However, officials at the International Court of Justice say that the court would not hear a case "involving an Indian tribe" unless it was presented by the nation involved, meaning Canada. That court acts as an arbitrator only with the agreement of the opposing nations.

The controversy ensuing from the decision often missed the point that the Supreme Court of Canada is by far the least appropriate forum for dealing with aboriginal rights. Litigation is expensive, time consuming, and abounds with technical uncertainties. Even if the Nishgas had won, further suits would be necessary to determine the exact extent of aboriginal title, and even then, legislative action would be necessary to adjust conflicts between aboriginal title and competing land-users.

Whether native people will have any more luck with political settlements with the present Government of Canada is debatable.

Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien has been persistently chauvanistic with his remarks about aboriginal rights, telling the House of Commons on February 8 that such rights are "a very vague concept." In an interview with *Toronto Star* columnist Peter Desbarats, termed aboriginal rights "legal and semantic disputes" stating, "I prefer to look at the question in terms of some sort of social compensation, not related to any rights, but to the social disturbance that we are creating for the native peoples."

Petitions and attempts at legal suits by the Nishga date back as far as 1875, four years after British Columbia became a Canadian province.

Although the first British governor of B.C., Douglas, followed a strict policy of treaty-making and extinguishing aboriginal rights before permitting settlement (as was demanded in the Royal Proclamation of 1763), his successors to this date repudiated this policy of extending the same recognition of ownership to Indian tribes and nations as Britain gave to its own white subjects. Where Douglas followed a practice of asking the Indians to point out the lands they used and set them off as reserves, Trutch, who became Indian Commissioner of the Province and later Lieutenant-Governor, referred to the Indian people of the west coast as "utter savages."

When B.C. joined Canada, the terms of Union promised that a policy as "liberal and generous as that hitherto followed" would be maintained. This has historically been taken to be a justification for continuing to deny any title on the part of the west coast and interior nations.

In 1910, Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier promised to find a way to bring the matter before the Privy Council, then the highest court for the British Empire. But Duncan Scott, the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs at the time, laid down such terms as having the chiefs promise that regardless of the outcome of such a trial, they would accept whatever the government chose to give them. He also wanted the government to choose the lawyers who would represent the Nishgas.

When the Nishgas did succeed in bringing a petition to ask Parliament to refer the matter to the Privy Council in 1927, Parliament responded by making it a crime to raise money for the purposes of pressing Indian claims.

Now, however, Frank Calder, who has been the driving force behind the Nishga claim for over twenty years, is a minister in the newly-elected New Democratic Party government in British Columbia. Whether he will ask his cabinet colleagues to introduce a bill to permit the Crown to be sued — thus smoothing the road for a new Nishga case — is not known.

Calder said that this was the first case in which the courts in Canada have even recognized that the native people were capable of being heard in court. He considered the case at least a partial victory because three of the judges who ruled on the substance of the issue supported the Nishga claim.

George Manual, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, said that since the technicality blocked a legal settlement, the Government of Canada now had an obligation to sit down and negotiate a political settlement. Manual is a Shuswap from the interior of B.C.

The Nishga decision to take their case to court has been a long standing difference of opinion between themselves and other native organizations in B.C. The Nishgas did not participate in the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, which presented a claim similar to the Nishgas in a brief to the Government of Canada. So far, the government has made no public statement on this claim.

Inuit spokesmen and members of Committee for Original People's Entitlement did not believe that the decision of the Supreme Court would affect their claims in the North. They say that the statutes and orders-in-council transferring the Northwest Territories from Hudson's Bay Company of Canada in 1870 included statements recognizing their rights to the land.

Reliance on these legal documents illustrates the problem which native people have in pressing their claims through courts established by colonial and imperial powers: unless the claim has merit within the colonial legal system, it cannot be heard, and colonial powers like Canada and the United States refuse to allow the claims to be heard in such international forums as the World Court.

Time Immemorial, Or Royal Prerogative?

There were two views submitted to the court. The Nishga People said that they owned the land from time immemorial and never surrendered it, nor were they conquered. The Province of British Columbia said that it alone held title by royal prerogative, conquest, and the Doctrine of Discovery.

Mr. Justice Pigeon, in his decision, did not get into this element of the case — he said simply that the matter should not have been heard. Mr. Justice Judson, supported by Ms. Martland and Ritchie, agreed on this procedural point — and added that they rejected the claim for aboriginal title.

Mr. Justice Emmet Hall wrote a seventy-page judgment upholding the Nishga claim, and was supported by judges Spence and Laskin.

Many observers scored the court's decision as "political." Even the B.C. court, knowing of the technicality, recognized that the matter was too important to ignore. However, the Supreme Court seemed to avoid the appearance of being "anti-Indian," and yet did not seem to want to be critical of the present federal government which is the first in Canadian history to specifically deny the idea of aboriginal rights. Thus the court's decision appeared to offend nobody.

And yet if the Supreme Court of Canada was going to duck a responsibility to pass judgment on this critical matter, it appeared that the native people had no recourse but to use their own powers and initiatives to force the federal government to re-structure its whole relationship with the native peoples.

(Thanks to Mickey Posluns for his article and analysis, and to Labor Challenge for its views.)

WOODLANDS CULTURAL CENTRE: AID OR HINDRANCE TO A PEOPLE?

Brantford, Ontario — The Mohawk Institute here, formerly a residential school for Indian children, is being converted into a "Woodlands Indian Cultural Centre".

Cy Fairholm, senior officer for the Department of Indian Affairs project management and coordination branch, said November 3 that a $225,000 grant for the establishment of the centre has been approved. The estimated cost to convert the institute is $2-million over the next four years.

Plans call for the creation of an extensive research library, a museum, a craft shop, an art gallery and seminar rooms. The centre is located on a 10-acre parcel of land owned by the Six Nations Reserve.

The program has been severely criticized by traditional Iroquois people who have kept the culture living, and who have been opposed by factions who will control the new center.

SUPREME COURT ALLOWS PROVINCE TO APPLY HUNTING LAWS ON RESERVE

Ottawa, Ontario — Alberta Indians living on reserves must obey laws of general application passed by the provincial legislature, including game laws, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled June 29 in a 4-3 decision.

Mr. Justice Bora Laskin, who disagreed with the majority judgment, noted the judgment applies equally to native people living on reserves anywhere in Canada.

Before the court was an appeal by Charlie Cardinal a treaty Indian living on Sucker Creek Indian Reserve in northern Alberta, against a conviction of violating provincial hunting laws. His defense had been based on the treaty-assured right to hunt and fish for food at all times of the year.

Mr. Justice Ronald Martland, writing the majority decision, said provinces cannot enact laws solely affecting Indians, as can the Federal Government, but that any laws it did enact would apply to Indians and non-Indians alike.

FEDERAL FUNDS: THE TENDER TRAP FOR NATIVE LEADERS AND PEOPLE

Calgary, Alberta — Federal funding of Indian organizations has squashed "Red Power", president George Manuel of the National Indian Brotherhood said in an address at the University of Calgary November 8.

Manuel noted that Indian organizations became more aggressive in the late 1960s, partly in opposition to the White Paper on Native People tabled by the government, and that was when federal funding was started "to suppress the red power movement."

Manuel said that in spite of the funding, nothing has really changed. "The government hasn't got the goodwill to see that change takes place among Indian people."

The main fault, he said, was with the bureaucracy, the Civil servants.

(Thanks to the Native People, published by the Alberta Native Communications Society, 11427 Jasper Ave., Edmonton.)

Native Education in Canada

Ottawa, Canada – While historically changes of Canadian Indian policy has much greater effect in Ottawa civil service circles than among native peoples, there was hope that a new education policy announced May 24 would be different.

Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien announced that there was a need for native peoples to become more involved in their children's education and the high school dropout rate, and thus his department would "gradually" hand control of education to Indian organizations. He was speaking before the House of Commons Indian affairs committee.

"To the extent that band councils and local Indian education committees desire, they can assume control of the Indian education program and can give it the direction they wish with assistance and support from the department."

Primarily involved in the change would be federal schools located on reserves, and the federal teachers who work there. The Department of Indian Affairs would change its role from that of administering school programs to "one of providing professional services under Indian direction."

Chretien also promised there would be no transfer of the federal education program to provinces without the "clear consent of the Indian people who will be fully involved from the initial planning to the final signature of the tuition or capital agreement. Any provincial responsibility in Indian education will be derived from agreements between band councils, provincial authorities, and the federal government," he said.

While it was not said directly, the minister implied that his policy meant that native people would be involved primarily in the administrative relationships between reserves and white educational systems, rather than to operate Indian-controlled schools themselves, as is the current trend in the United States.

For instance, Chretien noted that 60% of Indian students attend provincial school systems, and that it was "essential that those systems act to make education more consonant with Indian needs." To this end, band councils would be "assisted to negotiate such services as language teaching, curriculum enrichment, special counseling services, and other programs desired."

–Globe & Mail

Roger Caves . . . "Not everyone wants to be white"

The new "Indian motif" program would also mean that white teachers would be required to take courses in native studies and culture if they wanted to teach in federal schools. Deletion of offensive references in standard textbooks (which still would maintain the white "Columbus discovered America" perspective) would be encouraged.

"We want to see native people making their own decisions and becoming fully involved in education," Chretien told the Commons committee. "I will do everything in my power to remove the underlying causes of early school leaving and to help young native people prepare themselves for a wider range of employment opportunities."

It was unlikely that Chretien's new policy would go far enough to satisfy native education critics.

In a meeting earlier this year at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Roger Caves told educators that native people must stop letting white officials impose "a destructive education" on them. "When our leaders have the right to say what they want for their children, then we won't have to worry any more about dignity," the young educator said. He said native people must organize their own schools.

Robert Harris, of the OISE section in Thunder Bay, Ontario, reported that while it was true that many native children were in provincial schools, that many students were still being transported away from their homes to urban schools. More than 60 per cent of about 400 children in Northwestern Ontario schools had run away by February, he reported.

Dr. Harris approved such "Indian initiative". "They have run away – a most heartening state of affairs." He interprets the dropping-out as a protest against the whole educational system. He urged that the "whole ruddy system" be changed.

Caves said he spoke with some experience as a certified teacher with a university degree. He said that most teachers from teachers colleges had been taught "a lot of garbage." He said that white teachers in the north bring too many personal prejudices "and their nice little Protestant ethics."

"Not everybody wants to be a white man," he said.

Surely that statement of native policy was going to conflict with Jean Chretien's policy at some point in the future.

(Thanks to the Toronto Star, to Jo Carson of the Toronto Globe and Mail, and to the Canadian Press for the information.)

MANITOBA ESTABLISHES 'HALF-WAY' VILLAGE FOR NATIVES IN TRANSITION

Rivers, Manitoba – Still another approach to the means of integrating native peoples into "modern urban society" is being forged at an abandoned air base in this western Manitoba town.

The base, the economic mainstay of the town of 1600 for the last 30 years, was closed last fall, and the 3500 acre site, complete with buildings and recreational facilities, was converted into a "native training centre."

At the centre, known as Yellow Quill, the social and economic foundations are being laid for what is hoped will become a predominantly – but transient – native community of 5,000.

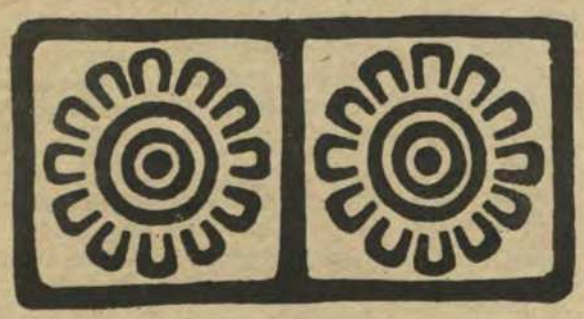
General manager of the centre is Frank Price, a consultant on resource development. His firm wrote the original consultant's report on the concept, and he later signed a five-year contract to implement it.

Governments have succeeded in moving Indians to urban centres, but the result has been just to remove them from what the governments call "rural isolation" to urban isolation. The centre aims to correct this by attracting industries where Indians and Metis can find jobs. In addition to on-the-job training, social programs are to be offered to give families the skills necessary to live in an urban society.

Already, about 60 families live at the centre. They are either employees of the centre, or students from a native education program at Brandon University. Price expects to attract firms supplying 240 jobs, about half of them for native workers.

Art Carriere, director of the centre's social program, said he expects residents will stay at the centre about two years, acquiring the skills necessary to move to other urban areas, but they may remain for longer or shorter periods.

Yellow Quill, run as a non-profit corporation by the Indian Affairs Department and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, is following a three-year development program. Price predicts a population of about 1500 within a year, rising to 3000 in two years, and levelling off at about 5000 after the third year. *(Canadian Press)*



NATIVE CHILDREN IN WHITE SCHOOLS: THE WALPOLE ISLAND EXPERIENCE

Wallaceburg, Ontario – A report by the Union of Ontario Indians prepared for the Walpole Island band will be considered by the Kent County Board of Education because of its documentation of widespread discrimination.

The report indicated that 90% of the pupils on detentions at W.T. Laing public school are Indian, although 10% of the school's 800 children are Indian. One Indian youth spent 56 consecutive days in the detention room.

The fieldworkers, Delbert Riley and Larry Johnson, said in their report that there were 160 cases of Indian truance listed between April and June last year. Truancy among white students is so negligible there is no basis for comparison. Yet at the reservation school, there were only five cases of truance although 99% of the students are Indian.

One teacher at W.T. Laing was quoted as saying that Indian students are "generally more unruly, don't care and marks mean nothing. Indian kids tend to be a little slower in learning . . . are quicker to fight, and you can't reason with them."

(Thanks to Canadian Press and Toronto's Globe and Mail for this January 24 report.)

SASKATCHEWAN CULTURAL COLLEGE FOCUSES ON HUMAN BEINGS

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan – One of the most exciting developments on the Saskatchewan Indian scene is the development of the Indian Cultural College here.

When the Cultural College was conceived in 1969 by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, the FSI emphasized that it did not envision a typical college which gathered crowds of young people into expensive structures of mortar and pounded into them skills that would ensure the continued existence of a technological society. Instead, the FSI recommended the setting up of a program that would carry its function to where the students were. It would focus on human beings, rather than technology.

To achieve such a goal, the college planned to set up research and training programs to revive and advance Indian culture. The college would encourage and train Indian students to research the areas of Indian history, anthropology, and sociology so they could portray a picture of Indian society closer to the truth than the Hollywood stereotypes. It was hoped too that Indian teachers could be developed who would work with Indian children.

The whole program is developing in conjunction with the University of Saskatchewan under the direction of an Indian co-ordinator.

(Thanks to Doug Cuthand, editor of the FSI's Saskatchewan Indian, *for his column in the Prince Albert* Herald.)

BOYCOTT AGAINST UNSANITARY SCHOOL WINS FOR PINE FALLS COMMUNITY

Pine Falls, Manitoba – Charging that the Canadian Government had reneged on a promise to replace a school that has been criticized as a health hazard, parents of the Fort Alexander Indian Reserve here kept their 700 children out of school again in early May.

The parents boycotted the North Shore School for six weeks during March and part of April, sending their children back to classes after assurances that a new school would be built, said chief Philip Fontaine.

However, he said he was later told by Indian Affairs officials that the proposal had been countermanded in Ottawa with lack of funds cited as the reason. It was then that the parents resumed the boycott.

Dr. Pitamber Geer of Pine Falls supports the boycott. "It was first brought to my attention that the water supply of this school was contaminated, and this was confirmed by tests. It was obvious that many children and members of their families were becoming ill with diarrhea and hepatitis. This included one member of the teaching staff," Dr. Geer said in a letter to chief Fontaine.

He said the school is obviously overcrowded, there is a fire hazard since only two classrooms have any possible fire escapes, and the basement classrooms are damp, causing symptoms of arthritis, joint pains, etc.

Fontaine said that the North Shore School is composed of three buildings – one was built in 1956 as a temporary school. Another building was trucked in during 1957 as a temporary measure, and the reserve's old community hall was converted to a school last year as a "temporary measure." The Indian Affairs five-year projected budget does not call for a new school until 1976-77.

With the school's eight teachers backing the native demands, Ottawa soon caved in and by May 23, the children were back in school. Somehow, officials found the necessary funds to have classrooms completed by September, 1974, and the rest of the facilities will be done a year later. Included in the Canadian commitment is an accelerated academic program to make up for lost time due to the boycott and because of absences caused by illnesses from the health hazards. Cost of the planned construction has been estimated at $200,000.

(Thanks to Canadian Press and Toronto Globe and Mail for this information.)

ONTARIO SUPREME COURT RULING SUPPORTS IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY TRADITIONAL CHIEFS

Toronto, Ontario – A Supreme Court of Ontario ruling has given strong support to Iroquois nationalists.

On July 12, Mr. Justice John Osler, in a 24-page judgment, ruled that the Indian Act of the Canadian Government is inoperative and that the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford has no legal basis for being a reserve controlled by Canadian officials.

The judgement also comes down heavily in favor of the rotiyaner of the Iroquois Confederacy as the rightful controllers of the reserve, instead of the elected council imposed by the Canadian Government in 1924.

His judgment was based in large part on precedents established in some of the first official land dealings between colonial administrators and Iroquois in what is now Canada.

The Six Nations reserve was land given to the Iroquois people to replace land they lost in what is now the U.S. as a result of their allying themselves with the British in the Revolutionary War. The agreement, called the Haldimand Deed, was intended to be of equal status as the original Iroquois land, that is, with sovereign status.

The current case arose from an injunction brought by the elected council against the Iroquois Confederacy traditional chiefs seeking to bar them from the 87-year-old council house. The hall had been built by the traditional chiefs, but taken over by the Canadian government in 1924 by armed force, and then turned over to a newly-established "elected council".

Mr. Justice Osler dismissed that application, and in doing so, virtually swept out all basis for existence of the elected council.

The decision is bound to have wide-spread effects on reserves throughout Canada, particularly where there is conflict between traditional governments and federally supported elected councils.

Citing these reasons, Mr. Justice Osler removed an injunction "against watching and besetting" laid against members of the Iroquois Confederacy by the elected council. The case grew out of an incident on June 25, 1970, when the Iroquois seized and padlocked the council house, then occupied by the government-backed elected council.

Despite the fact that the elected council has enjoyed all legal recognition from the Canadian Government for almost fifty years now, a substantial number of the reservation residents, members of the Confederacy, have refused to vote in elections, and the traditional council, operating under the Iroquois Constitution, the Great Law of Peace, has continued to meet.

Stating that title to the land was held in common by the Iroquois people, Mr. Justice Osler said it "follows that [the elected council] have no authority under the Indian Act to occupy or control the council hall to the exclusion of any others." As for the elected council's claim that it represents the residents of the reserve, Mr. Justice Osler said that the evidence of the voting counts indicate that the elected council is not supported by any more than "a small fraction of the population."

He noted that in 1969, when the band had 10,000 registered members, with 5,000 actually living on the reserve, a total of only 547 votes was cast.

"Their representative character is therefore seriously in doubt. In my view, the defendants representing the council of hereditary chiefs have by far the better claim to management of the premises in question."

The court also devoted five pages of its judgment to examining the Indian Act and concluded that "it must be declared that the Indian Act is inoperative by virtue of discrimination by reason of race."

The effect of the court action across Canada was uncertain. At Akwesasne, for instance, land has never been ceded to Canada or Great Britain under any treaty or agreement, and conceivably, the elected council here would have no legal defense if it were challenged in court. The elected system was installed here in 1900 after the arrest and jailing of hereditary chiefs and years of repressive measures.

(Thanks to Gordon Mamen in the Montreal Star, and Rene Laurent of the Montreal Gazette, for their information.)

The Queen 'Listens' To The Demands Of Native Peoples

Regina, Saskatchewan & Edmonton, Alberta – The pomp and circumstance of the Crown of England re turned to Canada to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police – and to meet with Indians in that mysterious glamour of royalty and aborigine.

Everywhere the Queen went, there were the usual little girls with bouquets of flowers, and the scarlet-tunics of the Mounties – and the feathered Indians. Whether it was a throwback to some past era, or a promise of new hope – well, only time would tell.

Sometimes the encounters, fc. all their sincerity, had the ring of a late-late show. When Elizabeth met David Ahenakew, president of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, the pair was surrounded by 138 red-coated Royal Canadian Mounted Policemen, and 50 yards away were 124 Indians.

"Our treaties which were signed by your ancestor, Queen Victoria, and our forefathers, promise us many things," Ahenekew read from his speech. "We see those treaties as sacred documents which will last as long as the sun shines, the rivers flow, and the grass is green."

There were no microphones, and few could hear in the prairie wind near Regina what the chief was saying to the Queen.

While the speech was part-Hollywood, it contained some tough words. "Some of your servants have not kept your part of the agreement," Ahenekew said in polite rebuke. He said native people must be allowed to develop in their own way, and that "your servants must learn this and understand this."

Protocol experts pointed out that the chief had made a boo-boo. Saying "must" to the Queen is a no-no. And it was done, as Scott Young of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* pointed out, in one of the RCMP's holy of holies, the Regina training depot.

But apparently, for those staging the event, it was all for show anyhow. Those who complained that the microphone nearby should have been given to Ahenekew so his words could have been heard were told by James McPhee, the tour's press coordinator, that there was no intention of using the microphone – the Indians would be heard when the Royal Party reached Calgary, he said.

Ahenekew expressed allegiance to Crown and Queen, and also had praise for the RCMP "whom we trust and respect because for 100 years they have acted in good faith to help us in our hours of need."

This attitude was in sharp contrast to the Metis Society of Saskatchewan, which said that the RCMP's gala year of centennial celebration was "a celebration of their 100th year of oppression." Jim Sinclair, president of the Society, said that the RCMP "glorified their history by degrading our history. In all their publicity, they neglect to mention how they divided the Indian people in order to keep them suppressed."

The Metis group had boycotted the Royal Tour.

The Queen apparently agreed with Ahenekew's view. In her speech to the RCMP, she praised the RCMP too.

"By their integrity, persistence, and devotion to duty, the men of the RCMP succeeded in maintaining law and order and a confidence in the civil Government through a vast area which might otherwise have succumbed to lawless chaos," she intoned, echoing the standard version of Canadian history, chapter and verse.

Chief Leonard Pelletier and Queen Elizabeth in Ontario

Ahenekew presented the Queen with a long leather scroll, and a peace pipe.

Queen Elizabeth also inspected the RCMP museum, which contains such gory relics as hair and skull fragments of Almighty Voice, killed by RCMP cannons, and buttons from the coat Louis Riel, Metis leader, wore when he was hung in another chapter in RCMP history.

–Canadian Press

Queen Elizabeth assures Alberta native people that their treaties will be upheld

Before her departure from Canada, the Queen of the British Commonwealth gave a royal pledge to 42 native chiefs assembled on buffalo skins on a grassy patch of earth near the Calgary airport.

According to a Montreal radio station's report, which was coupled with broadcast snickers, the Queen said, "You may be confident of the continued cooperation of my government which represents your people as it represents all the people of Canada."

The honor of the Crown had been pledged in the many treaties signed and Royal Proclamations given, most of which have not been upheld in Canada. In what must have involved some hypocrisy, the Queen's statements had been approved by Ottawa officials. Generally, native people who have appealed to the Queen for breeches of treaty-assured rights find their letters referred back through bureaucratic channels to be answered by the local Indian agent.

The solemnity of the tipi-dotted site, manned by native people in full ceremonial skins and feathers, was somewhat marred by the roar of jets and the hordes of photographers.

Speaking to Elizabeth, Harold Cardinal said she was "the Sovereign Queen who is our Treaty partner," and said that while the Indians would continue to uphold their part of the treaties, he prayed that "Your Majesty's Government will do likewise."

Most of Canada's treaties are hardly a century old, but newsmen referred to them as "ancient agreements."

The Queen responded to Cardinal, who is president of the Indian Association of Alberta. "You may be assured that my government of Canada recognizes the importance of full compliance with the spirit and terms of your treaties." At this there was applause from the assembled native people, perhaps beguiled by pomp and circumstance and words that sounded sincere – just as their grandfathers had been when the treaties were first signed.

Political columnists, perhaps more astute in the slipperiness of the English language, noted that "recognizing the importance of full compliance" was not the same as "promising full compliance."

Perhaps the native people have the same problem as did photographers who snapped photos from a kneeling position at the Calgary Stampede grounds so the crowd could see the Queen. With so many horses, photographers found that if they just kept their eyes on the Queen, they were certain to be fouled with horse manure.

(Thanks to Canadian Press and to Charles Lynch, columnist.)

Great Lakes

Reserve, Wisconsin – Despite shrill cries from area resort owners, the Anishnawbeg of Lac Court Oreilles have closed all their reservation lands to hunting, fishing, trapping, and wild rice harvesting by non-owners of their reservation – meaning, non-members.

The order was unanimously approved by the tribal council May 14, and 18 signs, 4x8, were posted at key points on reservation land.

The signs were not unlike those posted on other private property in Wisconsin: "You are entering the Lac Court Oreilles Chippewa Reservation. No trespassing, hunting, fishing, trapping or ricing without permit. Signed: Lac Court Oreilles Governing Board."

Area resort owners were upset.

"It's kind of scary," said Mrs. Dorothy Dolezlek who manages Anchor Bay Resort on Lac Court Oreilles Lake. "This is only our third year up here and I have to wonder now whether we bought the right place or not."

Paul Brueggeman of Black Bear Lodge on the Chippewa Flowage said he wasn't happy at all with the move.

"I don't think it's proper at all – the Indians get enough out of the white man and I don't think they should get anymore," he said.

Rick Baker, tribal chairman, told reporters Tom Lawin and Dave Carlson of the Eau Claire *Leader-Telegram* that the decision was a "conservation-minded" move.

He explained that the "high cost of nutrition in stores, the high rate of unemployment in the tribe, and lack of job opportunities for Indian men, we decided that our tribe needed all of the game and fish resources for our own people."

Undersheriff Jim Poppe said that the move was perfectly legal. However, he had a qualification, not unlike the reply of Andrew Jackson to Chief Supreme Court Justice John Marshall in the 1830s.

"Enforcing the order will be up to them," the law enforcement officer said.

What the ultimate reaction of the resort people would be was uncertain, but the likelihood of confrontation was surely in the picture.

"It kind of burned me up," said Mike Piccione Jr. of Nor-Wis Resort, adjacent to the reservation. "After all these years and then they start something like this... A stranger coming up here will think twice before going fishing or hunting now."

The people of Lac Court Oreilles are involved in other controversy as well. The was the group of members who were arrested last September by Wisconsin's Dept. of Natural Resources for harvesting wild rice without a license, and for having no life preservers in their canoes while gathering the rice.

Then there is the matter of the Chippewa Flowage. The flowage is an area in northwestern Wisconsin noted for its unspoiled natural beauty. To create the Flowage, the U.S. leased about 300 acres of reservation land to the Northern States Power Company for fifty years. The lease was granted by the BIA over the objections of the Lac Court Oreilles people.

In actual fact, over 500 acres was flooded, including a town and a number of Indian graves. Also, another 5,500 acres of reservation land was taken away between 1881 and 1934 by federal laws, despite an 1854 treaty – which has the power of federal law – that the land was to remain in Anishnawbeg control "forever." The 5,500 acres are also now owned by the Northern States Power Company, and only 1,000 acres are still above water.

Now the 50 years of the lease has expired, and the Lac Court Oreilles people want their land back. A demonstration was held two years ago, and the demonstrators went home after there were promises by government officials to take action. The U.S. has given the power company a temporary annual license to operate (the dam is for water storage only and does not generate power).

In addition to the Lac Court Oreilles people, the area is home for bald eagles, osprey, two endangered wild birds, and a wide variety of animals.

The Federal Power Commission said hearings on the matter would begin August 21 in Washington.

"The majority of reservation Indians do not agree with Baker's tactics," said Beee Eveling, secretary of the association. "Everybody is really banding together to help the Indians solve some of their problems which have come up since this new faction of militant Indians has come into their tribal council," she said.

CHICAGO GROUP MOVES TO STORE-FRONT OPERATIONS AFTER MOVE TO CORRECT INDIAN CENTER PROBLEMS FAILS

Chicago, Illinois – Efforts of a group of native people residing in Chicago to bring unity to the strife-ridden American Indian Center has ended in their resignation from the board of directors of the center. Included in the resignations was that of Mrs. Susan Power, president.

Mrs. Power charged that the group's efforts to restore programs which would be of service to the thousands of native people who live in Chicago – many of them in desperate poverty – had been thwarted by the acting director and a faction which controlled membership lists and finances. She charges that they refused to respond to board resolutions, and that committees controlling center facilities did not have board members serving on them as required in the center's by-laws.

The departing group said that since the center was primarily for fundamentalist Christian exploitation of Indians, it would seek to open "store-front" style centers to provide basic services.

On February 15, a circuit-court action brought by Steven Fast Wolf against the Moody-church faction headed by Duane Begay resulted in cancellation of the January 20 elections and ordered a new election for March 17. Fastwolf had charged that the election committee was "Moody dominated" and that it had failed to send out election notices as provided for in the center's by-laws.

On March 17, the elections were held, with 124 ballots cast out of a potential 400 members, perhaps because of a feeling that revival of the center was unlikely. The election resulted in victory for candidates identified with the American Indian Bible Church.

In December, the Community Fund cut off funding of the center "until your performance reaches acceptable levels." In February, the center was hit with a $25,000 civil lawsuit for non-payment of an account for crafts for resale in the center's shop.

-Chicago Sunday Star photo

A Chicago Scene . . . Who Will Serve Them?

Because of the cut off in funds, the center came to a standstill. A phone bill of $900 was unpaid. Twenty full-time staff members went without paychecks, and most programs were cut back. Sheriff's deputies said they would have to hold a public sale of furnishings and equipment to pay off a debt "in excess of $25,000" for goods purchased from a New Mexico trading post for resale in the centre's crafts shop.

The center has a budget of about $300,000, nearly 80% of which comes from private sources, and about 20% from the Community Fund of Chicago, Inc.

The center had been developed and operated for years under Bob Reitz, with support from the University of Chicago. However, Reitz died suddenly in May, 1971, and the factionalism erupted. The new board has appointed Roger Harper acting director.

BOARD CLOSES INNOVATIVE SCHOOL AS COMMUNITY CONTROL MAKES GAINS

White Earth, Minnesota – The school board of nearby Park Rapids has voted to close an innovative Indian school on the reservation here in retaliation for increased moves toward Anishnawbeg control.

School officials said the 100 students at the Pine Point School – all of them Anishnawbeg – will be transferred to other schools within the Park Rapids district.

Last November, the reservation business committee (the governing body) and the Indian Education committee voted to ban the superintendent of schools and school board members from entering the reservation. At the same time, they asked that the school be removed from the school district and given entirely to the Anishnawbeg. It has students through the eighth grade.

The Indian Education committee pointed out that most of the money to operate the school comes from Johnson-O'Malley funds allocated through the BIA, and not from local property taxes.

Jerry Buckanga . . . expertise needed for Anishnabeg

The ire of the reservation people had been raised when the board refused to hire Jerome Buckanaga, a former principal at Pine Point who left to become an unsuccessful candidate for the state legislature, as an assistant director of the school. It would have been a part-time job, paying $2600 annually. Funds were available in the budget, they said.

In support of the reservation action, non-Indian professional staff members of the school urged the school to avoid purchasing anything in the Park Rapids community and also agreed to donate enough of their salaries to begin a legal-defense fund for bringing control of the school back to the reservation.

The school board's decision to close may put further pressures on to pass control on to the White Earth people. It had earlier joined with reservation leaders to seek the creation of a separate district for the school, but the State Board of Education has refused to recommend such action to the Legislature.

The principal of the school, Rodger Kemp, had advised the board that rejection of Buckanga, at a time when Anishnawbeg groups are seeking self-determination, constituted "a serious mistake, both educationally and politically." He said that Buckanga's expertise was needed to organize an Indian culture curriculum, to train paraprofessional staff, and to assist in school/community relations and communications.

ANISHNABEG ASK SUPPORT FOR RETURN OF LAND BOUGHT FOR THEM IN 1930s

Baraga, Michigan – During the 1930s, approximately 4,000 acres of land on the L'Anse Reservation in Michigan's upper peninsula was purchased from private owners by the U.S. under the authority of several federal acts. The land had slipped earlier from Indian control.

The actual transfer of the land to the reservation requires Congressional approval, however, and that has never happened.

The L'Anse people, Anishnawbeg, are now conducting a campaign to get appropriate bills moved into committee hearings in Washington. Often, bills such as these get lost in the shuffle and are never reported out.

Friends of the native people of Baraga are urged to write Senator James Abourezk, chairman of the senate sub-committee on Indian Affairs, Room 5241, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. urging action on Senate bill 1102. An identical bill is in the House, and there letters should be directed to Representative Lloyd Meeds, Chairman, House Sub-committee on Indian Affairs (attention: Steve Sander), Washington, D.C. urging passage of H.R. 6070. Notes of support and copies of congressional letters can be sent to Frederick Dakota, tribal chairman, Keweenaw Bay Indian Community, Baraga, Michigan 49908.

NEW INDIAN COMMISSION NAMED BY MICHIGAN; GEMMILL TO SCHOOL POST

Lansing, Michigan – Gov. Milliken has named an all-Indian Commission on Indian Affairs to advise him on Michigan Indian matters. Named to the panel were Mark Perrault of L'Anse, Arnold Sowmick of Mt. Pleasant, Kathleen Ann Campos of Grand Rapids, Leter B. Gemmill of Flint, Dean George of Detroit, Doris Adams of Harbor Springs, William Cross of East Lansing, Philip Alexis of Benton Harbor, and John Lufkins of Petoskey.

In March, the state board of education named Gemmill to another post: that of Indian education coordinator for the state. He will work with the Brimley, Baraga, L'Anse, Watersmeet and Bark River school districts in the upper peninsula, and with the Mount Pleasant district in lower Michigan – all receive federal Johnson-O'Malley funds for Indian education. Gemmill is from the Pit River Nation in northern California.

BOOK REVIEWS

(This review was written from the galleysheets of the book, and is included as a foreward. "Literature of the American Indian" is available from AKWESASNE NOTES. Quantity purchases for class room use are available at a 20% discount!

Literature of the American Indian *by Thomas E. Sanders and Walter Peek. Glencoe Press. Hardcover only, $10.95.*

Native American peoples know the Power of their songs, legends, history, stories, oratory – those things which a "literate" society calls its "literature". Listening to an elder talk during a winter evening, or responding to the rhythm of the drum and the melodies of the singers is more than just entertainment or social pastime for the People of this Land – it is "literature" which passes on advice and knowledge, which gives the eye a framework of beauty and peace through which to view the world, which binds together individuals into that web of extended family and clan and tribe and Membership in the Creation which the Western Civilization knows of, but seldom experiences.

In the interests of "civilization," "progress," "education", and "religion", the culture – and thus the literature – of Native Americans has been mocked, suppressed, and destroyed. Spanish conquistadores spent weeks throwing volumes of Mayan literature into massive pyres until the great libraries stood empty. So effective was their work that only a few specialized scholars today even know the libraries existed. Grandfathers found that the children who used to sit about their lodges to hear the accumulated wisdom of the ages were away in boarding schools operated by the government or the churches – and when they did return to their homes, the children could no longer understand the only language Grandfather spoke.

Missionaries painted dreadful pictures of the Fires of Hell which would meet all who followed the "pagan and heathenish" ways of the "devil-worshippers". It was ridiculous, they said, that people should believe such nonsense as twins, one good, and one evil, born to a virgin mother Instead, they said, only the Gospels contained the Truth of Cain and Abel and Mary, Mother of Jesus. Native medicine people and orators were hard-pressed to compete with the mission people who could "prove" their way by pointing to the text of a printed book said to be the Word of God – especially when children had been taught that writing of any kind could hardly be questioned. "It must be true if it's printed' is an adage that prevails today.

The little respect that was given to Native American literature came from those strange and possessive scholars known as "anthropologists". While music departments of a university teach the intricacies of Italian operas, while historians expound on the Crusades and the French Revolution, and while Spanish novelists and poets are interpreted and discussed in Humanities classrooms, Native Americans are always shuffled off to Anthropology. There the greatest of poetry is dissected for its "cultural insights" and songs and legends are burdened with faithfully-applied footnotes.

Nippawanock (Tom Sanders) and Metacomet (Walter Peek) do a tremendous service in changing that unfortunate and unpleasant relationship by their compilation of this volume, and their insistence that it be accepted at face value as literature. As non-native people get their first glimpse of the philosophy and wisdom of the peoples whom they have displaced, they need a context and encouragement to bridge the gap from their own isolated culture, hemmed in by feelings of superiority, over to the culture of a people who are viewed as the "pitiful remainders of the Stone Age."

For Native Americans, this volume will be a source of strength, adding depth and status to their knowledge and belief that their ways and wisdom are indeed of value. To non-native people, this volume can be an indication of what has been denied to them by Manifest Destiny and what has remained undiscovered because of the Doctrine of Discovery. For non-native people, it will be something which they can appreciate – for native people, it is a volume in which they can participate.

This anthology also offers hope, as it points the way to that Universal Anthology of the Creation, which speaks a language that all sensitive and thoughtful observers can understand – birds and insects as well as human observers. The voice of the waters, the whisper of the winds, the tale of the mountains, the patterns of the stars are the source of this "literature". Hopefully, as other peoples share this land with the native peoples, they will grow to respect and honor her as their Mother. It is this Library of the Creation that native peoples take the greatest pride in their literacy.

– Rarihokwats

The Only Good Indian: The Hollywood Gospel *by Ralph & Natasha Friar. Drama Book Specialists: New York, 1972. 300+ pages, illustrated, $12.50.*

It is possible to cunningly poison someone by administering minute doses of arsenic over a long period of time – the cumulative effect is deadly.

This is the way Hollywood has poisoned a willing American people over the decades, movie by movie slipping in enough racist sentiment against native people to fatally poison all hope of positive human relations between the cultures, victimizing native people and non-native alike.

Ralph and Natasha Friar have diagnosed and documented Hollywood's atrocities in an entertaining – and devastating – style. Their book is a work of unquestioned scholarship, although the bent of their passion is evident.

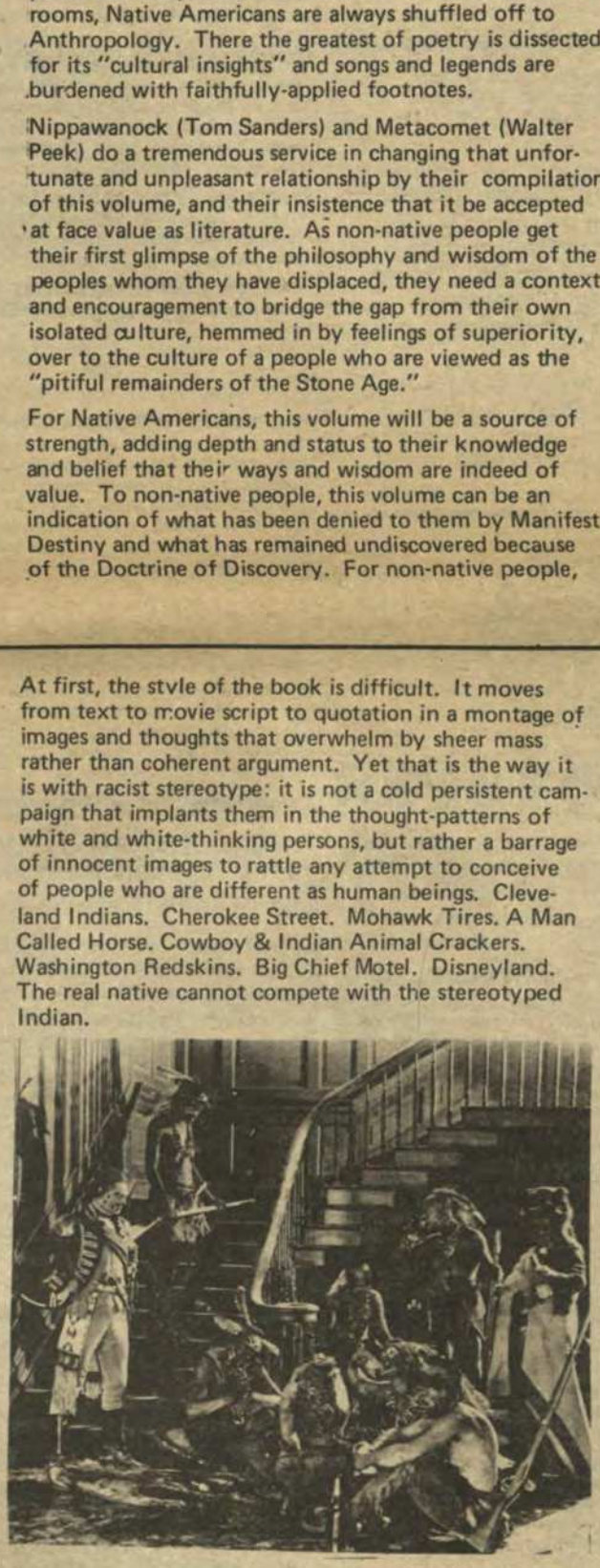
Starting with the antecedents of the motion picture, the dime novels, nickelodions, stage plays, and even opera and early art of native subjects, they catalog racist bias item by item. It seemed only natural that the old fashioned medicine show and Wild West troups would emerge to quench America's thirst for fantasy that would ease the burn of guilt from a history of genocide.

Salting their narrative with pungent quotes and photos, the Friars show the implicit and explicit racism in the not just a few films, but literally hundreds. Aided by such accomplices as Columbus-discovered-America history books, missionaries seeking funds to convert the pagan heathans, and cowboy and Davy Crockett types, Hollywood had an easy chore, and, in fact, was well rewarded for its efforts.

Now that the Friars have completed this documentation, there is a need for themselves and other investigators to dig deeper into the behavior of the film industry and link it to American policy toward native people – perhaps a survey of film-viewing habits of today's congressmen and BIA bureaucrats would reveal a great deal. Or there might be books exploring how raw racism is and has been translated into polite phrases of government policy and the mouthings of such colonialist agents as evangelists and educators.

At first, the style of the book is difficult. It moves from text to movie script to quotation in a montage of images and thoughts that overwhelm by sheer mass rather than coherent argument. Yet that is the way it is with racist stereotype: it is not a cold persistent campaign that implants them in the thought-patterns of white and white-thinking persons, but rather a barrage of innocent images to rattle any attempt to conceive of people who are different as human beings. Cleveland Indians. Cherokee Street. Mohawk Tires. A Man Called Horse. Cowboy & Indian Animal Crackers. Washington Redskins. Big Chief Motel. Disneyland. The real native cannot compete with the stereotyped Indian.

DeMille's 1918 version of The Squaw Man



A Scene from Griffith's classic, America (1924)

–Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive
A Scene from The Last Frontier, a 1926 Movie

Some will criticize that the Friars – who are not of native descent – are writing a book about native people. But it is not for the victims to cure the disease of the oppressors. And really, the book is not about film or natives – it is about America and its fantasies. The Friars have not only debunked the myth, but they have exposed its roots to searing daylight so that the pale image of John Wayne will, in the future, be hard to project.

– Rarihokwats

RESOURCES

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

THREE BOOKS FROM WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE: The Law, The History, and The Prophecy

THE LAW OF THE GREAT PEACE – the constitution of the League of the People of the Longhouse. 80 pages, illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00.

MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS – told in English and in pictographs, with illustrations by Kahonhes. 36 pages, 50 cents. Written by Ray Fadden.

THE HOPI PROPHECY – as told by Dan Katchongva. A new booklet of spiritual directions published by White Roots. Illustrated. $1.00.

THE CALENDAR

We know 1973 is over half done, but for those who haven't purchased their large White Roots of Peace calendar, there are still some left. Even without the dates there are 12 poster-size portraits by Kahonhes, with appropriate quotations. The calendars are $2 postpaid. Get 'em while we have some left – they will not be reprinted.

POSTERS

Each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES has a center-fold poster, 17x24. These have been reprinted on heavy poster paper and are now widely seen throughout North America in native communities.

Posters are 50 cents each, or 3 for $1. People who wish them protected in shipping by a cardboard mailing tube should add 50 cents. The posters are also available at $25 for 100 for resale by groups, stores, and individuals.

This list is necessarily incomplete, for each month, a new poster is added. Some of those available are:

Sitting Bull
Chief Joseph
Zuni Governor
Grandma Hunter
Poundmaker
Fire Carrier
Three Horsemen
Longhouse to Kiva
Family Portrait
South America
Wounded Knee
Three Sisters
Shackled Native

INDIAN TOBACCO

Kinni-kinnick – blends of herbal and tobacco ingredients – is available from NOTES. We mix it, package it, and ship it. There is a catalog of the six available blends, but the best way to try it out is to order 2-ounce samplers – they are $1.05 each prepaid – and test each to find a favorite. Each blend is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. They are Eastern Woodlands, "Ceremonial," Old Chippewa Straight (no tobacco is used in this one – just barks and herbs.) And then there is Mohawk, Western Plains, and Northwest Coast.

(An easy way to help AKWESASNE NOTES survive is to encourage tobacco shops in your area to place a trial order of 36 packets for $25 – that's a 1/3 discount. There will be 6 pouches of each kind in the trial order. It's also a good item to sell at powwows, craft displays, or for fund-raising sales for groups.)

XTRACOPIES

EXTRA COPIES of this issue are available for single copy orders, or for bulk distribution and resale. They can be sent out by regular mail prepaid, or by bus collect, for prompt delivery.

The paper is useful to raise consciousness about native events and situations, and is also good for fund-raising. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each – you pay after they have been sold. Payment in advance is 25 cents each. For $5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends or a social studies class. For $25, a reservation group could see that 100 homes each received a copy. Churches with a genuine concern for Indian events could order copies for distribution within the parish.

By whatever means, we urge each person reading this to consider ways by which this message can reach the most possible people.

BACK ISSUES

BACK ISSUES are available for some editions for 50 cents each. There are nine still in print so all available back issues would be $4.50.

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues, and numbers five and six are available.

Volume Three (1971) is out of print except for number 3. There were nine issues that year.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Four are still available, numbers 3,4,5,6.

Volume Five (1973) is not yet complete. This is number four. Number 1, the Trail of Broken Treaties issue, is out of print. The First Month at Wounded Knee (issue 2) and The Conclusion at Wounded Knee (issue 3) are still available.

VIDEOTAPES

These videotapes are each about 30 min. long, black & white, and require a ½-in. videotape deck of any format. They sell for $75 each, or can be rented for $10 per day.

WOUNDED KNEE DISPATCH: The story of the occupation by participants, leaders and lawyer. Tells of police harassment which led to AIM's arrival and the issues involved.

NOW THEY WANT MY LIFE: Wallace Black Elk, a spiritual leader of AIM, speaked from inside Wounded Knee, providing a traditional outlook on many current problems as well as the spiritual basis for the occupation.

482 YEARS OF INFAMY: Vern Bellecourt national AIM director, explains the roots from which present Indian protests stem, and the function of AIM in promoting positive change.

THE BURNING OF CUSTER: Vividly documents events in and around Custer, S.D., 3 weeks before the Wounded Knee occupation.

47 CENTS: The Pit River Nation of California voted to reject a government offer of 47 cents an acre for land illegally taken from it. This is an Emmy award winning tape of their struggle for their land.

LET US BE: The most comprehensive of the Wounded Knee videotapes, including interviews, and images, eliciting a feeling for the deep commitment of native peoples in the struggle for justice and sovereignty.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

Bell & Howell Co., Underground Press Package, Microphoto Division, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691

Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd., Route 100, Milwood, N.Y. 10546

TAPES

We have a series of tapes available for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio, and individuals. The series is always being updated and added to, but the list below is available at this time.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3 3/4 ips, or on cassette. Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half price.

30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50
60 minutes – $10.00

THE SECOND WOUNDED KNEE: a documentary on the occupation in 1973, as reported in the press, and as seen by those inside. 60 minutes.

WOUNDED KNEE: THE END OF PHASE I: Interviews under fire, and in the closing days of the occupation, including dialogue with chief U.S. negotiator Kent Frizzell and U.S. militants. 45 minutes. A good sequel to REBIRTH OF THE SIOUX NATION.

REBIRTH OF THE OGLALA NATION: History of the treaties and land-ripoffs at Pine Ridge, the events leading up to the occupation of Wounded Knee, and people talking about the community inside the occupied village. Told through interviews. 45 minutes.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF WOUNDED KNEE: begins with people talking about the treaties and sovereignty, and goes on to show U.S. strategies against the people's resistance. Includes excerpts from firefights, government radio, negotiations, and interviews with people inside. 45 minutes.

VIETNAM VETERANS INSIDE WOUNDED KNEE: They talk about parallels between Wounded Knee and Vietnam, why they came. 45 minutes.

CARTER CAMP ON WOUNDED KNEE: an AIM leader talks about native resistance. 45".

●

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA LAND CLAIM – The Indian peoples of B.C., after pressing their land claim for 98 years, have gained some recognition of their claim through the courts and the Canadian Parliament in 1973. This tape reviews the claim, the court decision in the Nishga case, and the government response. 60 minutes.

●

SOUTHERN INDIAN RIVER: The Manitoba Government proposed to flood a river system in the northern part of the province, destroying the natural economy of the native people. These two debates contrast Indian and government attitudes. 30 minutes.

LOUIS RIEL ALIVE: Two studies, one political, one spiritual, on the life of the Métis leader for the nationhood of his people, whose life ended with hanging. 60 minutes.

●

THREE INTERVIEWS and a SHORT STORY: STORY: (1) Scott Momaday talks about his life and writings, and relates the oral tradition with his work as a writer. (2) Buffy Ste. Marie tells of her childhood, and finding her way back to her own Cree people. (3) Maria Campbell, author of a new book ("Halfbreed") tells of her life as a Metis on the northern prairies, living on the road allowance. (4) a young Metis soldier realizes his identity at a moment of crisis in the Boer War in South Africa. 45 minutes.

●

SOUNDINGS FROM AKWESASNE: The history of the Longhouse and occupation of islands in the St. Lawrence River in 1970. 30 minutes.

●

MANIWAKI INDIAN BOY: Story of the shooting of an Algonkin boy caught stealing a lightbulb. 30 minutes.

●

THREE MESSAGES BY RAY FADDEN: History of the Iroquois Confederacy, Contributions of Indians, Problems, by the owner of the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota, N.Y. 45 minutes.

●

I AM A MOHAWK: Ernie Benedict, director of North American Indian Travelling College, talks about the Jay Treaty and a free border for native peoples. 30 minutes.

●

CONCERNS OF THE JAMES BAY CREE: The price native people will pay for a hydro-electric project. 60 minutes.

●

Radio Akwesasne is always looking for new material – it can distribute programs done by other radio producers across North America, and it can produce its own programs from material sent to it by interested persons. Interviews, tapes of meetings and events, poets reading their work, storytellers. All tapes sent in will be returned immediately.

IWGIA DOCUMENTS: Pamphlets of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs

These case studies, detailing the situation of peoples whose existence is endangered, are useful for anthropology classes, and as well, for people who want specifics so that they may take constructive action.

DECLARATION OF BARBADOS: The manifesto of a group of Anthropologists on the contemporary role of scientists, governments, and religious groups to halt cultural genocide. Must reading for all student anthropologists. 25 cents.

ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS by A. Barrie Pittock. Land rights of Australian native peoples, with comparison with other lands. 25 cents.

THE URGENT SITUATION OF THE CUIVA INDIANS OF COLUMBIA by Bernard Arcand The four centuries of struggle against European invasion, and the 1970s physical struggle against Colombian cattle herders. 50 cents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION (1957-'72) by René Fuerst. The most representative material available, listed and annotated here. $1.00.

THE FOREST INDIANS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF PERU by Stefano Varese. The problems for native people caused by positive social change for the rest of the nation. 50 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE AMAZON: THE CAMPA CASE by John Bodley. A case study on the extermination of a people. 30 cents.

Three Books by Wilf Pelletier

Wilfred Pelletier is president of the Nishnawbe Institute in Toronto, a contemporary Odawa philospher. These three books by him and his associates are highly regarded as keys to the life and thought of natural peoples.

FOR EVERY NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN WHO BEGINS TO DISAPPEAR I ALSO BEGIN TO DISAPPEAR (being a collection of essays concerned with the quality of human relations between the red and white peoples of this continent.) 162 p., paperback. $3.75.

TWO ARTICLES: Childhood in an Indian Village, and Some Thoughts About Organization and Leadership. 25 p., pamphlet, $1.25.

WHO IS THE CHAIRMAN OF THIS MEETING? A collection of essays, edited by Ralph Osborne. 100 p. paperback $2.50. Including essays by D.G. Poole, introduction by Farrell Toombs.

Royal Ontario Museum Charts

These beautifully designed and printed charts are spectacular: about 34 x 40 inches, with an explanation in French and English. Great for displays, for classes, even hanging in a home. There are six in the series:

NASKAPI (a northern people)
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
QUILLWORK
WOOD CREE
TOYS AND GAMES
ASSINIBOINE

Each chart is $3.00, postpaid.

RESOURCES

RECOMMENDED BOOKS

HOUSE MADE OF DAWN by Scott Momaday 95 cents. Pulitzer Prize Winner. A powerful novel of the 20th century.

THE HOPI CHILD by Wayne Dennis. $1.95. An account of child development and adjustment at New Oraibi.

THE MAN WHO KILLED THE DEER by Frank Waters. $2.50. An absorbing novel of Pueblo life. Highly recommended.

DISPOSSESSING THE AMERICAN INDIAN – by Wilbur Jacobs. $3.95 paperback. A noted historian shakes some of the myths about Indians and whites on the colonial frontier.

THE BOOK OF THE HOPI by Frank Waters. $1.25. Hopi mysticism, religious life, and history.

TOUCH THE EARTH: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence, compiled by T.C. McLuhan. $2.95 paperback. Curtis photograpns and quotations of Indian life.

WHEN THE LEGENDS DIE by Hal Borland. 75 cents. A novel on the death of humanity.

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE by Dee Brown. $1.95. The true story of how the west was lost.

THE SACRED PIPE: The Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux. $1.45. A basic understanding of the spiritual perspective. Black Elk/Brown

WE TALK, YOU LISTEN by Vine Deloria Jr. $2.45. An effort to make sense of America, and where do we go from here?

OUR BROTHERS' KEEPER by Edgar Cahn. $3.95. A chronicle of contemporary wrongs and abuses.

CHRONICLES OF AMERICAN INDIAN PROTEST by the Council on Interracial Books for Children. $1.25. A survey of resistance and struggle through the years.

TO SERVE THE DEVIL: AMERICA'S RACIAL HISTORY (volume 1). by Paul Jacobs. $2.45. The roots of American racism.

RED POWER: American Indians' Fight for Freedom. $2.95. Documentation of the current struggles through 1970. by Alvin Josephy.

BLACK ELK SPEAKS. $1.50. The Oglala Way of life, as chronicled by Black Elk thru John Neihardt.

OF UTMOST GOOD FAITH by Vine Deloria Jr. $1.95. Treaties, history, law.

THE INDIAN TIPI by the Laubins. $1.65. Organic architecture.

SPIRITUAL LEGACY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Joseph Epps Brown. 70 cents. A slim pamphlet with a clear message.

THE TEWA WORLD: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in Pueblo Society. $2.45. Heavy, but worthwhile to understand pueblo life.

THE WAY: An Anthology of American Indian Literature. $1.95. Edited by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. Nice selections of contemporary relevance.

ART AND DESIGN

AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN & DECORATION by Leroy Appleton. 265p, large paperback. $4.00. Contains 700 illustrations from the western hemisphere. Also contains some legends & cultural info.

PUEBLO DESIGNS by H.P. Mera. 113 p, paperback. $2.50. Contains 176 illustrations of variations on the Rain Bird design from pueblo pottery.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVEN by Bill Holm. 93 p. paperback. $4.95. The catalog of the Signey Gerber Collection of Northwest Coast Indian Art in the Burke Washington State Museum. Photographs.

NORTHWEST COAST INDIAN ART by Bill Holm. 93 p. paperback $4.95. An analysis of a system of principles utilized in traditional art. Scholarly, but with interesting illustration.

DECORATIVE ART OF THE SOUTHWESTERN INDIANS by Dorothy Smith Sides. 100 p. paperback, 290 illustrations on 50 plates. Excellent design motifs. $1.50.

DESIGN MOTIFS OF ANCIENT MEXICO by Jorge Enciso. 153 p., paperback. $2.50 A display of native decorative ingenuity.

A COLORING BOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS. 50 p. paperback. $1.50. For older children and adults.

MEDIEVAL AMERICAN ART by Pál Keleman. In two volumes, each of about 400 p, paperbound, with extensive photos. Volume I has an introduction, with sections on architecture, sculpture, and pottery. Vol II covers weaving, metal work, jade and other semiprecious stones, murals and manuscripts, and miscellaneous applied arts. It also has chapters on daily life and evolution of art form. Each volume is $4.50.

ART IN AMERICA– a special issue of this magazine devoted to Indian Art (July '72). Articles include "Artist-Explorers," Navajo Blankets, and beautiful photos of work of 23 contemporary Indian artists. $3.00.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS – a small beautiful little book of arts and crafts, with many illustrations. $1.95.

POETRY

THE MAGIC WORLD, edited by William Brandon. paperback, $2.50. Imaginative translations, with an excellent introduction on the nature of native poetry. Highly recommended.

SHAKING THE PUMPKIN, edited by Jerome Rothenberg. 474p. paperback. $4.50. Traditional poetry of the Indian North Americas, translated with an effort to preserve the original qualities. Highly recommended.

THERE IS MY PEOPLE SLEEPING by Sarain Stump. hardcover $9.50. An ethnic poem with many drawings of the poet.

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HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW – by Felix Cohen. This is the unexpurgated 1939 edition, which was revised and castrated in the 1950s. Compiled court decisions on Indian matters. $25.00 – we'll give a 10% discount to all who need it and ask for it.

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MY LIFE AS AN INDIAN by J.W. Schultz. paperback. 204p. 95 cents. A personal story of an adventurer who lived with the Blackfoot in the days of the old West.

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Album One: Grass Dance Song (George Many Feathers), Grass Dance Song (John Bottle), Grass Dance Song (Dominic Cross Child), Chicken Dance Song, Grass Dance Song (Harry Shade).

WAR DANCE SONGS OF THE PONCA (1967). Actually called Hethoshka, but for some strange reason, called a war dance by anthropologists, although it is a history of the Ponca people (which includes its conflicts.) In two albums, each $5.

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LETTERS

NOTES: This is what we've been doing locally. AISD, Americans for Indian Self-Determination, in St. Louis, actively supports the purposes of AIM, AKWESASNE NOTES, and native Americans everywhere struggling against deprivation and injustice.

Since March 1973 we have been attempting to solicit money through radio discussions, club and church meetings, concerts, and street and campus peddling. We have not been overjoyed by our success, but we're encouraged by a good portion of the public we've met who want to learn more, and have responded with personal concern. Primarily, we have become a communication center.

Phil Sultz
163 Hazel Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63119

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NOTES: The San Jose Indian Center Library is seeking materials relating to the Indian occupation and experience on Alcatraz Island. Items such as pictures, news clippings, private correspondence and printed material are being sought to establish and centralize a collection for use by historians, Indian and non-Indian, for research and future scholarly purposes. It will be valuable to establish such a collection in a centralized location.

Ruth Blank, Librarian
Indian Center of San Jose, Inc.
90 South Second St.
San Jose, California 95113

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NOTES: AKWESASNE NOTES has to be the greatest thing to happen to the Indians with the possible exception of the November take-over of the BIA building in Washington, D.C. Please continue in printing the truth. Your paper is the only one I could ever trust.

My ancestors took part in the Battle of the Little Big Horn, and you should be informed that the Custer Battlefield on the Crow Reservation is still Indian property. The only thing the government or state owns is the buildings and the tombstone (mass grave). If the Indians received permission from the Crow they should be allowed to erect a monument to the Cheyenne and Sioux and their allies who died that day. I would be proud to have seen it, since my great granduncle died from wounds received from that battle. After all, if the government can erect a monument to the killers of the Washita Massacre, the Indians should be able to show everyone in America that we Indians honor our brave and dead warriors.

Last Bear (William M. Harris)
Tacoma, Washington

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NOTES: We the Indian inmates of Waupun State Prison, have recently acquired the right to Indian religious services. Presently, we have one inmate who is capable of conducting the ceremonies, but he will be leaving in the near future.

I am taking it upon myself to ask for help in having an outside ceremonial leader come into the prison on Sundays to provide the service to Indian inmates Any volunteers will be extremely appreciated, because it is our desire to return to the Indian way of worshipping the Creator.

Norbert Sturdevant 26373
Box C
Waupun, Wisconsin 53963

NOTES: I would like to suggest that we stop sticking our necks out by printing articles about the leftist groups of Puertoricans for Independence or others. After all, they are involved with another vice of the white man's invention, Communism, just as Christianity is a vice of the white man's world.

I admit Christianity is viciously destroying our cultures, yet the Commies of the left would do it at a much faster rate.

Great Wolf's Spirit
North Scituate, Rhode Island

(Our motivation for printing an article about the Puerto Rican Independence movement, which we understand has support from those who are and who are not Communist, was to see what lessons native peoples might learn from another people who have been colonized by the United States, made citizens by the same act that gave native people citizenship, and who now seek their sovereignty parallel to the present quest of sovereignty by native peoples. We tell you this, not to argue against Great Wolf's Spirit's point, but to tell why it was that the article was printed. Eds.)

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NOTES: If Russell Means had blond curly hair, pale blue eyes and pure lily-white skin, do you think Anglo Congressman James Haley of Florida would have dared to call Russell and his fellow AIM members "punks, hoodlums, etc." and shaken his finger at him saying, "If I had my way, you'd be in a Federal prison."

As for the BIA take-over costing the taxpayers money, the cost of repairing the johns in that building is a grain of sand in the desert compared to the billions of dollars wasted in the state of Florida on that boon-doggle barge project which not only wasted taxpayers' money, but ruined the surrounding ecosystem for miles. And another costly project is the now-abandoned Everglades Jetport which still has nearly 100,000 "training flights" by four leading commercial airlines annually.

If hearings are to be fair and bring about just and lasting solutions, the chairman and his committee cannot be racists and bigots, filled with prejudice and hate for the non-white minorities of this land.

Elizabeth King Follett
Louisville, Kentucky

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NOTES: Keep on. The work you are doing is great and very important. There are many people here in Denmark who support you, and our sisters and brothers fighting in Wounded Knee. There have lately been quite a few people trying to express that support through the press and some political action.

A great number of people here look to the old traditional way of life to get direction for their own life, and to help them find their own roots which appear to be very similar. The old way of life is spreading, especially among young people here. It might be that in these days, the old prophecies are coming through and the Indians coming back all over the world.

Inge Ambus
Koge, Denmarke

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NOTES: May 5, 1973, was a very important, hard and sad day for people here at Allakaket, Alatna, Bettles and Hughes, Alaska.

Part of the State-Federal Land-Use Planning Commission were here to hold hearings on part of the 80-million acre D-2 land. The one that will affect us is the proposed National Park north of Allakaket on the Brooks Range. Also the proposed Wildlife Refuge about east and south-east of Allakaket.

A total of 41 testimonies were heard by the Commission. Four testimonies were spoken in Athabascan and translated in English. In every testimony the word was clear — we want our land as it is forever. We want subsistance hunting, fishing, trapping, berry-picking within the systems by our native people. We don't want no roads, mining, commercial harvesting of logs, homesteading, and mass influx of people within the systems. We want our children to be free to hunt for subsistance — and their children. Will they be? Can they go hunting 30 or 40 miles from Allakaket 20 years from now? If they can't, how the hell are they going to make their living?

During the hearing, I kept hearing the words, "Native Input". Well, for the LUPC members who were here, they heard true "Native Input" about our concern for our land and our children. We spoke from the bottom of our hearts.

I hope the Secretary of Interior and eventually the United States Congress will thoroughly consider our so-called "Native Input". Please let your feelings be heard for us — write to our congressman and senators in Washington, D.C.

Edward Bergman Jr.
Allakaket, Alaska 99720

NOTES: I have been incarcerated 16½ years in the California State Prison System. It is so encouraging to read your wonderful paper to know what my brothers and sisters are doing out there, especially my own tribe, the Oglala Sioux at Wounded Knee.

It's so tough, brothers, when one is in these places and a long way from home, Pine Ridge. It's been over 14 years since I last saw my poor old mother who is 88 years of age, and my nine sisters and three brothers.

I would like to hear from some of my brothers and sisters, and to hear what's happening with them. I miss that free air the wild beautiful animals and birds. Mostly, I miss the Paha Sapa country where I was raised and once roamed those hills. Well, maybe the Great Wakan Tanka will again give me the opportunity to smell and inhale that air again.

Buffaloboy Canoe
Antelope Indian Circle
California Conservation Camp
POBox 790
Susanville. California 96130

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NOTES: I wish that the Oglala/Dakota will gain their goals through their rebellion: more justice and equality of rights against the white man. I am ashamed of my white skin.

Regina Borleske
Hannover, West Germany

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FRIENDS: The Prison Law Project has closed its offices. It is no longer rendering legal and advisory services to prisoners due to lack of available funding to carry on. Thenceforth, only referral services will be provided, and those largely by form letter.

A society that will not buy hot lunches for its school children cannot be expected to provide legal services for prisoners. No segment of American society was willing to pick up the tab for a small office providing literally thousands of prisoners with their only link to legal advice and concern... . Perhaps a new group of people with a fresh approach will succeed where we failed, to win adequate support and funding to carry out a functional legal services program.

To the prisoners: good luck. To our supporters: thank you.

Ezra Hendon & Fay Stender
Prison Law Project
POBox 1088
Berkeley, California 94701

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BROTHERS & SISTERS: I am very impressed with NOTES. It was almost hard to read because I couldn't get used to the fact that you weren't trying to make me believe a lie, or selling me something I did not want. I feel that you give a realistic and balanced account of what is happening to the Indian people.

Alex Montroy
Brooklyn, New York

NOTES: We are glad to see that there is a growing awareness of the problem of South American Indians among the Indians of North America. After all, the problem of all Indians is the same: the struggle for survival against the imperialism of the arrogant profit-and-progress-worshipping Western culture.

We would like to know how you feel about the action at Wounded Knee. Isn't it the only way out?

Jean Box
Belgian Committee for Aid to the Amazon
St.-Truidensteenweg 133
3700 Tongeren
Belgium

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NOTES: I am not eating for four days to help my brothers and sisters at Wounded Knee. They may not know it, but the Great Spirit will, and I hope he will send them my love by doing this, and I hope he will not let too many die.

Charles Capach Jr. 035831
Florida State Prison R2N2
Starke, Florida 32091

RARIHOKWATS: After reading the pages and pages of "woe is me" regarding the failure at Wounded Knee to achieve any improvement in the life of the Indian people involved, it was with a feeling of profound relief to read your editorial entitled, "Lessons to Consider" and in its light, to get the point of the cartoon on the cover from the Journal of Brazil, in which the Indian is chiseling away the symbol of the Statue of Liberty to remove what is extraneous to a proper symbol of this land, a totem pole.

I'm glad that you noted that the lessons of the Trail of Broken Treaties, Wounded Knee II, and Watergate are ultimately the same — none can bestow on anyone Sovereignty, or Freedom, or any other desirable boon. They must be developed — they cannot be given. For the Redman to cry, "Give us back our Sovereignty", addressing themselves to this Government, is equivalent to the folly of Maurice Stans at the Watergate crying, "Give me back my good name." It was he that had surrendered it long since by his forfeiture and surrender of the qualities within himself that entitle a man to have a good name. Those of whom he complained were but the case of the innocent lad who cried out, "The Emperor is naked." So it is with the Indians. It takes the silent connivance of the Indians for BIA to have ever succeeded in setting up the Puppet Tribal Councils, and of keeping them in control. Likewise with violated Treaties. The White man could not have got away with the violation of the Treaties had the Indians not been passive when they should have acted positively to retain their sovereignty

The way back is the hard road of restoring those individual qualities, attitudes, and initiatives by which an individual, or in this case, a people, earn what the United States Declaration of Independence erroneously declares to be "inalienable rights". One can alienate them in an instant — many of Tecumseh's supporters and allies did, remember?

The cartoon provides me with a text for a sermon I have preached to you often — that the Great Spirit is demanding of his people more than a chance to live out their own lives in fulfillment of their treaties. He expects you to Civilize the immigrants whom he sent here and with them to make this a leader of His will for the Planet.

If the U.S. Government surrendered its sovereignty and control of this land and its governance turned over to the Redman now, to whom could it NOW be entrusted? I put it to you that the ordeals of which your people so loudly and continuously complain are challenges coming not from the White House goons, but from the Great Spirit saying, "Wake up, my People! Prepare yourselves to fulfill your Great Destiny."

Rachel Welch
Washington, D.C.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

NOTES: I had an opportunity to study your last issue — I especially paid attention to the article about the Lapps in Sweden. George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada had been in Kiruna during the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

I am very happy to hear that contact is about to be established between our peoples, the Lapps, and the native people in North America and Canada. But I have to correct some facts that was presented in the article.

The number of the Lapp population in Scandanavia (Norway, Sweden, and Finland) is markedly higher than 33,000. I would guess 50 or 60 thousand. The number depends on the criteria of "Who is a Lapp?" The governmental way to calculate has often been that a Lapp means a reindeer owner. Additional criteria have been language, etc. Our own criterion is that we are Lapps because we are Lapps — no more, no less.

Tomas Cramer, a Swedish lawyer, was mentioned as "the main spokesman for the Lapps." We are glad that he has been helping the Lapps in Sweden, but he is not the spokesman for all of us. Actually, the spokesmen for us are our organisations, national and international.

Nordic Lapp Council is international, while Svenske Samers Riksforbund (National Unity of Lapps in Sweden) and Norske Samers Riksforbund (National Unity of Lapps in Norway) are national. In addition , there are organizations like Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforening (Organization of Reindeer-Lapp in Norway) and Sami Cuvgehussaervi in Finland.

Ten per cent of the Lapps have reindeer-breeding as the main employment today. The rest are farmers, fishermen, workers in industries, etc. Students attend high schools in Oslo, Stockholm and Helsinki. Here in Oslo, Norway, we also have a Lapp Society, Oslo Samiid Saervi.

With the best wishes for you all,

Ole Henrik Magga
Oslo Samiid Saervi
Box 5425
Majorstua, Oslo 3, Norway

YA-A-TEEH, AKWESASNE: Recently we formed a group here at Milan Federal Correctional Institution. We have our braids, chokers, headbands, literature, Indian music, two outside sponsoring groups and one hell of a warden. There are three Indians in here.

I believe we're the first Federal inmates to wear braids — a good start! Thank you — and thanks to the Denver Chapter of AIM for teaching me who I am — write to us, you people out there.

We're also interested in Indian law relating to Indian marriage. Why the hell can't we marry by our own law instead of running to the county seat?

Teddy Bell 12381-102
American Indian Awareness
Box 1000
Milan, Michigan 48160

NOTES: Your poetry editor, Karoniaktatie, has just been down for a visit to read his poetry and talk with our students about native American literature.

He brought much good medicine and helped us all become the poets we should be. He is an exceptionally talented young man who promises to make a great contribution to the Mohawk Nation and native American literature in general. I expect one day to be teaching his works in the classroom.

Thank you for sharing him with us. I wish him and the NOTES continued success.

M. Thomas Inge
English Department
Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia

NOTES: Thank you for the many letters you published in your paper that I wrote. The publicity you gave my case, too. Without your help I would not be out now. Also I would like to thank the many friends who came to my assistance through seeing your article on my case a few years ago in NOTES. I pray that the Great Spirit will assist me to help our people in some capacity.

William W. Childs
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

NOTES: To hear of Rarihokwats arrest and the physical and mental harassment of the Mohawk People makes me have a sad heart, but I am not surprised.

Richard Oakes death and the recent anti-Indianism that the news media is spreading to the masses shows that all is not well & progress is not on the upsweep. When I think of Oakes and Clyde Warrior being gone, I see nothing but hatred for America and everything that she represents.

But then I see those beautiful words of Dec. 16 1969, from Alcatraz Island addressed to Indians of North America:

> *We realize too that we are not getting anywhere fast by working alone or as individual tribes. If we can gather together as brothers and come to a common agreement, we feel that we can be more effective doing things for ourselves instead of having someone else doing it, telling us what is good for us. So we must start somewhere. We feel that if we are going to succeed, we must hold on to the old ways. This is the first and most important reason we went to Alcatraz Island. We feel that the only reason Indian people have been able to hold on and survive through decades of persecution and cultural deprivation is that the Indian way of life is and has been strong enough to hold the people together.*

This then makes me think that maybe Indian people may after all get the determination to judge life according to one's own values. Material means has been the founding of America and is the goal of every non-Indian, even though his culture has brainwashed him into thinking he is a humanitarian, a person who respects life, and searches for peace.

Do not be deceived by a do-gooder or bleeding heart longhair who powers his 'Keep On Truckin' ' van to understand what Indian people are. Liberals and so-called Indian experts want a bicultural experience — they are searching for an outlet of life that their culture has deprived them of and at the same time are trying to Americanize the native and sovereign people of North America. Indian people must beware of the bicultural trap.

Go in beauty.

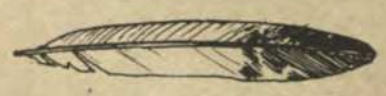
Randy Stearman
Miami, Florida

NOTES: I'm applying myself to study and constructive thought, trying to get something out of this time I'm doing besides a bitter attitude.

I've been having problems with the officials here because of some socialist books that were sent to me. Wouldn't let me have them. They send people here because they say we don't respect the rights and property of others, but as soon as I begin to show concern for the suffering of other people, they start acting crazy.

Despite all the static, I'm getting stronger in my belief that all people gotta start helping his brother.

James L. Collins 35182
Indiana State Prison, Box 41
Michigan City, Indiana 46360



NOTES: I don't know if you are aware of it, but the U.S. Internal Security Committee investigating prisons is considering a bill to propose censorship of "revolutionary mail" entering the nation's prisons.

If censorship returns, it would affect all publications entering prisons — and I'm sure that would-be censors wearing badges would consider NOTES to be revolutionary to some extent. Truth is always revolutionary where it threatens to expose wrong-doing.

Bob Vik 130-882
POBox 69
London, Ohio 43130

(While at this time NOTES is permitted in most prisons, it presently is being returned from the Maryland Penitentiary as "disapproved." Persons concerned about the free flow of information to native prisoners might want to request an explanation from the State Corrections Department in Baltimore — and check out the proposed new law mentioned above with your congressman. The Editors.)

NOTES: You are the lifeline of our people.

Mrs. Margaret Hoaglen
Hopland, California

NOTES: The treatment the Navajos are receiving at the hands of the traders (see last issue) burns me up.

But what can we do about it? I started this little shop of ours less than two years ago. One of my real aims was to become the best retailer of native arts and crafts in our vicinity. I wanted to deal straight with the Indians, so they would get a good price for their stuff, and I could sell it at a fair price.

So I wrote to the governors of all the pueblos, to the craft guilds of the Navajo and the Hopi. I got one less-than-non-committal answer from the whole lot. I wrote again, and a third time. I have yet to get another reply.

So I went out and wheeled and dealed with the white traders. Why do I have to pay a trader $40 for something which the Indian was paid $15 for — and why do the shops in New York or Phoenix sell it for $80 or $100?

Tell us how we can help — we're willing to do whatever we can. And so are a lot of people. It's damned well a mutual problem.

George E. Johnston
The Cache
POBox 87
Fanwood, New Jersey

(Native craftsmen interested in finding additional markets for their crafts, or increasing the amount they receive for crafts can write this newspaper — we'll see that you're put in touch with good people who won't rip you off. Editors.)

NOTES: I am a young white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant, a product of a middle class mid-western background, and have been fully exposed and indoctrinated in the whys and wherefores of Americanism. In the last few years, I have also become a socially-aware person, striving to know something about humanism, about the other people in this country: who they are and why they are the way they are, and also trying to learn about such things as racism, sexism, chauvanism in all its forms and my role in these varied "isms".

To be white in America and at the same time socially aware and even minimally responsive is to have to cope with one hell of a guilt complex. It is a start to realize that there are ungodly numbers of people in this country who are oppressed, but it becomes frightening when I realize that my ancestors built their worlds on the oppression of others, and that I reap the benefits.

Some of my ancestors came over on the Mayflower. That means that some of them killed Indians and some of them dealt in slaves and some of them stole land and lied and cheated and swindled. Not exactly the ideal culture that I would have chosen to have arisen from, had I the choice.

I don't know what to do. I know that I can't really help Indian people in the ways that I might like to because I'm obviously not Indian. And I also want to make sure that the things that I do are motivated by something other than a guilt complex that I'm trying to work off.

I was impressed very much by the intensity, the beauty and the love that springs from the White Roots of Peace. You made me think in a way I hadn't for awhile. I hope to see you all again.

Dave Fox, WPTX
Lexington Park, Maryland

FRIENDS: Be at peace, as the Earth is, and rest through the hard Winter. The Spring will surely come and the violets bloom once again. Does the Earth ever forget? And so, too, must AKWESASNE NOTES continue to flourish and grow so that the tree may grow and bloom, and with hope the singing birds dwell within its branches.

We must live in tenderness, remembering that we are related and brothers of all Creation, and, as brothers we must protect those who cannot speak for themselves — the four-legged ones the winged ones of the air, and all green and growing life. (They do speak, but few are able to hear, let alone understand.)

Wahwahtaysee
Kinderhook, Illinois

NOTES: Chalk up a few more on your list of places unfair to Indians.

The Jacksonville, Oregon, museum advertises "Indian artifacts" which are, in fact, those of some white man who fought in Indian wars! Other references to Indians describe "Indian attacks" without reference to any sufferings endured by Indians.

On our way to Crater Lake, we travelled on a county road called 'Dead Indian Road." Oh boy. The store there was all Hong Kong beadwork and fake "Indian Turquoise Rings." The only book I noticed was "Ancient Tribes of Klamath Country."

Sock it to 'em.

Beth Holzman

NOTES: We all have to unite in brotherhood in regaining our vanishing heritage. There are a few of us here in Rota, Spain, stationed at the U.S. Naval Station that are organizing a group and we have called it 'Ong-we'. We would be happy to hear from anyone that wishes to write, and welcome guidance and help.

Rm1(Bu) D.A. Morin USN
U.S. NavCommSta, Box 33 B482
FPO New York 09540.

NOTES: The Popol Vuh, meaning the Book of Advice, is written in the Mayan hieroglyphics during that tenuous period of time that followed the arrival of the foreign invaders and before the collapse of their culture. It is a book of prophecy, a message to all tribes for the future.

Popol Vuh tells us that there would arise a race of men called the "wooden puppets", whose only pursuit would be the accumulation in the form of gold, and their only fruits would be oppression, treason, misfortune, poverty, sickness and spiritual emptyness. That was the vision of the Mayan seers.

Popul Vuh tells us about their future: their kind will vanish, a flood would come clensing the face of the Earth of the destruction they brought. They are called Xibalbas by the book, their leader's name is The Great Dead One. One of their occupations is to tear down mountains (Black Mesa — what will become of you?)

The Popol Vuh tells us too about the Good People, those who "talked, pondering what Dawn would bring, asking to fulfill the Word of Love." The Book calls them "those lovers, those respectful ones."

Their prayer goes like this:

Salutations, oh Builders divine,
oh Shapers divine,
you who see, you who hear,
oh You!
Do not abandon us, don't leave us
oh Gods in the Sky, Gods in the Earth,
Spirits of the Sky, Spirits of the Earth!
Give us our children and our grandchildren
Give us our posterity
While there are days, while there are Dawns.
May Germination happen,
may Dawn happen.
May the green paths be many,
the green path which you give us.
May the peoples be at peace,
Very much at peace.
May the tribes be perfect, very perfect.
May life be perfect, very perfect.
The existence you give us, oh Giant Ones,
Lightning,
Footprint of Lightning, Splendor of it,
Footprint of the very Wise One,
the Sea-Gull, Master Magicians, Masters,
Powerful Ones in the Sky, Givers of Life,
Procreating Ones, Ancient Secret,
Ancient Lady who Hides,
Grandmother of the Day,
Grandmother of the Dawn.
May Germination happen,
may Dawn happen.

If you read Popol Vuh, remember the warning it gives: "This Book is the first Book, drawn long ago; its true face today is hidden to him who sees only through thought." Always remember that if we try to listen, the words of our ancesters will teach us much. They were waiting for the future generations to give meaning to their/our struggle.

Desert Bird and Cloud Lizard
France

NOTES: You are just about our only window into the real world.

James L. Kirkland
Rt. 9 Box 982
Traditional Indian Unity Movement
Tallahassee, Florida 32303

FRIENDS: I am saddened to know of your recent troubles at Akwesasne, and the death of Richard Oakes. Your work will go on for all of us, for our roots are in the skies and cannot be destroyed.

Alice Greentree
Hollywood, Florida

LETTERS

NOTES: I have received news of the trouble you are having with the so-called progressive Indians who want to change our Indian way of life.

Do they not know who they are? Do they not get this happy feeling I get knowing I got a beautiful way of life? Do they not see the beauty of the dances and songs of Our People? Do they not feel anything for their own kind? Do they not remember the sayings our Ancestors left us? They are of the same kind as I am, yet why can't they feel the way I feel?

I ask myself these questions, but never finding the answers. I ask the Great Spirit to make them realize for their sake and the sake of our people.

There comes a time when one feels deeply about something and longs to share it, but he feels funny because someone might laugh or just not listen so thinking this, he keeps within himself. NOTES has given a lot of people a chance to share what they feel. This sharing has made a lot of people happy.

The letters you get from prisoners just goes to show how happy you've made them with the NOTES. There is nothing in that paper that is harmful. It speaks the truth for what is said in it comes from the heart – the heart speaks the truth and the truth will not harm.

I have enjoyed reading the poems, send to you be people who want to share their feelings with people who care to listen.

The paper has also opened my eyes to the causes of other tribes.

Our own pueblo has fallen into the hands of the whiteman and this paper has given us a chance to tell other people of our cause and in turn, we got letters coming in, giving us strength to fight on for our land, and money to help with our cause. Without NOTES, we wouldn't have gotten all those wonderful letters.

Right now I am corresponding with a prisoner in Ohio who said he needed someone to write to him.
Though we have suffered a lot, our way of life is what's keeping us alive. We have lost a lot from the past. But what we got left will let us make it grow to the size it once was.

The progressive Indians will not stop us. We will fight along side of you, for that which is right, and for what we believe in. We will progress in our Indian way of life. Keep up the great work – we are behind you.

The Great Spirit is the Truth.

Margaret Vigil
Tesuoue Pueblo (New Mexico)

NOTES: I cannot understand anyone who will go out of their way to make trouble, especially if they are supposed to be fighting for the same cause.

There is no group, or individuals, who are more dedicated to our people than you and the staff of NOTES. If the people who are causing all the trouble are interested in making things better for the Mohawk Nation, they should shut up and let the Longhouse People handle affairs.

Our prayers to the Great Spirit are with you and the people in Akwesasne in your time of problems.

Joyce Stipe
Gruver, Texas

NOTES: Keep up the good work. When all the politicians have finished talking, and all the native leaders have finished travelling to all the conferences, when all the white men's promises have been made and broken, the racial blindness remains

This is the root of the trouble in all countries where the native people are of color. The rules of this ancient game are to use the dark-skinned ones to your own advantage, and never, never admit he is equal to a white man.

What the whites don't seem to realise is that they are bringing about their own end.

Harry Boulby
Barrie, Ontario

NOTES: We read with great interest of your struggle against the courts of the U.S. We want to express our full solidarity with you and your Native American sisters and brothers.

The governments of both the United States and Canada are guilty of the most horrible and genocidal crimes against the Native American people, one of which was the setting up of artificial borders in the Western Hemisphere in an attempt to keep the Native American people divided.

We pledge our full support in defense of the right of all oppressed people to self-determination and to your struggle in particular.

Dan Bentivogli
Youth Against War and Facism
Buffalo, New York

FRIENDS: I hope your troubles have cleared up and that the authorities have come to their senses.

I was lucky enough to see some members of White Roots of Peace when they spoke at Harvard. I was very glad to see their strength of spirit – may they be heard and the impact of their words and their souls felt throughout America.

I feel their message is vitally important – for me, it aroused hope that I wasn't sure I could have for the restoration of the Indian in his land and traditions, and for the restoration of the white man's soul as well.

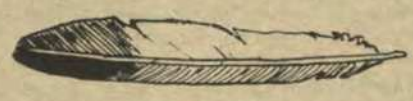
I know there will be much struggle and turmoil, for my people (the white people) have many difficult lessons to learn in the years to come, but our sons will be brothers. May the White Roots of Peace carry their life-giving power to all your brothers, and may your nation and its land flower once again.

Steve Waterbury
Cambridge, Massachusetts

FRIENDS: We have been deeply moved by AKWESASNE NOTES. Perhaps only the Indians could provide the quality of spiritual leadership that would enable the growth of the true non-violent revolutionary movement that this poor country needs so desperately.

We link arms with you and seek your blessings, you who have perfected the art of turning vision into power.

Bob & Vicky Thompson
Antrim, New Hampshire



NOTES: Often I read words of Indians about the way of life and thinking of the Indian nations being better than the way of the white people, that the Indian nations will live again, and so on. I am not too sure.

It seems that today only the Indian way of thinking is better – but not the way of life. I'm sure that a very great number of Indians eat exactly as the whites do: sugar, coffee, sugar, white flour, Coca-cola, sugar, synthetic chemical additions.

This way of life, this way of eating and drinking, this "white way" is one of the causes of diabetes, cancer, obesity, denta. decay, etc., etc. But nations who live still or live again on their own biologic way of nutrition have not to be afraid of degeneration – or culture decay.

I think this is what is forgotten by many Indians. If the Indian nations will live again, they've to leave the white way of nutrition and go back to a rational nutrition which is in harmony with the laws of nature.

I hope there are Indians enough to speak and say these things too – surely that can say these things better than I.

Roland Winkler
West Germany

NOTES PEOPLE: Maybe you could run a couple of articles on present and past Native American diet – and maybe a series on simple herbal medicine.

Daniel Adachi
Williamsburg, Massachusetts

(We would welcome articles sent to us on these subjects. Editors.)

NOTES: I have a boy who is going blind. I just got word about it from my people. He needs help in getting an eye specialist.

I cannot do anything for him while he is in prison. If any way possible, could you PLEASE let all the Brothers and Sisters know he needs HELP in obtaining a doctor. He is 14 years of age.

His address is Albert Bowens Jr., POBox 1145, Buna Vista Dr., Yucca Valley, California 92284.

Albert Broken Bow Bowens
POBox 107 B-97
Tehachapi, California 93561

FRIENDS: Last summer, I happened to be in northern New York on my birthday, asked that my family go with me to the Six Nations Museum to celebrate that day.

I was particularly intrigued with the owner's lecture (Ray Fadden) on the real nature of so-called "Western Civilization." It suddenly became very apparent to me that our white man's civilization is really a composite of all the contributions any people have developed that can be useful to mankind. We (the whites) have been willing to take anything from anyone that could make our lives more comfortable – but we have been unwilling to share the power of controlling it or even to share the benefits.

That is rather a nutshell synopsis of Thanksgiving Day, wouldn't you say?

I'd like to suggest that you promote the idea of contributions from white Americans on Thanksgiving Day to native American organizations, agencies, etc. It seems to me singularly appropriate. Not as apology, nor as compensation, but just as recognition of the humanity we have in common, which your ancestors expressed by helping ours when they needed help, and which we who still believe in the possibility of a really civilized society want to celebrate

Jean Gregg Milgram
Philadelphia, Pa. 19136

(We are grateful to Ms. Milgram for her continuing and generous support of NOTES. But we will leave the promotion of her idea to others, for if it were we who promoted it, it would become something else and the original intent would be destroyed. The Editors.)

FRIENDS: NOTES has helped me to better understand the ways of my native American brothers and sisters and the battles which they have had to face and which they continue to face each day of their lives. Thank you for your understanding and for having opened my eyes.

Linda McDonald
Fair Oaks, California

NOTES: There's really getting to be a readership for AKWESASNE NOTES in Chapel Hill, because a lot more people recognize the paper on the street and say, "Oh yeah" as they start digging for some change.

Chris Charlett
Tick Creek, North Carolina

BROTHERS: I would like to express my appreciation towards your fine efforts to unite all the tribes and brothers and sisters through out this land of ours.

I am a member of the North American Indian Culture Class here and am dedicated towards a better future for all the brothers.

I am the only Pima here.

Ernest M. Valenzuela 86724-132
POBox 1000
Leavenworth. Kansas 66048

FRIEND: I cannot say your paper brings joy, for often, I lay it down with a heavy heart. Then, as I sit musing, joy does come, for you are moving, and that is cause for joy. . . Who can judge if you choose the right step each time (how many do choose the right step each time?). Even unwise steps lead, if the motive is right, to wise steps. This is a heartening paper!

Ann Sterling
Wendell, North Carolina

FRIENDS: I commend you on your paper – I have learned many things but most of all, I have really come to appreciate and have great respect for the earth.

I am fighting with many of my friends to save the Sacred Peaks in Flagstaff, Arizona. I am writing articles for our papers here, putting up posters in the colleges in the area, and having people write letters to me in support of stopping the development. Please send me more background information so I will be fully informed.

Charlene Gibson
3173 Ten Mile Road
Rockford, Michigan 49341

NOTES: As a middle-class WASP, I've been wanting to write for sometime, but it is hard to find the right words. You see, I feel as if I've been a champioher of the underdog most of my life, but unfortunately, what comes across to me most in NOTES is plain old vindictiveness – "getting back at the other fella". I also sense more than a little reverse racism aimed at white who are would-be friends but often get slapped down as buttinsky do-gooders when they want to help.

This puts us "between the devil and the deep blue sea" – damned if we do and damned if we don't. I've about come to the conclusion that the best thing whites can do for you is to be friendly, but leave you alone. Is that a misconception?

Please do try to spell out for us non-Indians what specifically we can do to help you without being rebuffed.

Mildred Henderson
Lancaster, Pa.

(Readers may have other suggestions, but let's start with building support for the Twenty Demands sent to Washington by the Trail of Broken Treaties. The Editors.)

NOTES: In your last issue, you mentioned that some of your people were looking for the original race name.

The book Oahspe *is a history of the universe and is allegedly taken from the libraries in the other world. It was written by spirit through a medium, John Ballou Newbrough, and is a most fascinating book, containing life stories of all our great religious leaders – including Ea-Wah-Tah, goofed up to read Hiawatha today.*

Ea-Wah-Tah, a North American, was contemporaneous with Bo, Abram, and Brahma. He was taller than any other man, with a bright shining face of copper. He established among the North Americans of his time the worship of the Great Spirit, and his doctrines are still held by most of the tribes of North American "Indians" who refuse to accept any other God or Savior. Ea-Wah-Tah established the United States of America, but called by the name, O-pah-e-go-quin, or Algonquin. The model of his independent nations, united in one, was that which was adopted in the formation of the present United States of America by the whites.

Mrs. Belle B. Sundgren
Buena Park, California 90620

NOTES: If we would return to the true religions of our Ancestors, it would bring us closer to what the Christian Bible teaches than to what the Christians themselves practice.

Great Wolf's Spirit
North Scituate, Rhode Island

NOTES: This area was the last natural home of the Wyandot or Tionotiti. I have been in the process of gathering notes and materials on this tribe. I hope to complete in the future a full factual Wyandot History. If anyone has any knowledge of this tribe, I would appreciate them writing to me.

I am also undertaking the task of pressuring the local historical society into replacing their Taiwan Indian trinkets with Iroquois and Woodland Handicrafts.

Charles Faber
Route 1
Carey, Ohio 43316

LETTERS

SISTERS AND BROTHERS: I was one of the Indian brothers here at the United States Prison at Leavenworth who were fortunate to be visited by White Roots of Peace, and what they had to bring to us was very spiritually refreshing to me.

White Roots of Peace brought back into focus my people, the Papago way of approaching life as I once knew it on the reservation.

Your AKWESASNE NOTES has made me realize just how much I have let myself and my family down. But it has in turn given me the courage to remedy this situation.

Henry N. Tenario 86368-132
USPrison, Leavenworth, Kansas

NOTES: I enjoy each issue, and I am particularly impressed with the art work of Kahonhes on the covers and throughout the newspaper.

Mrs. Marian F. Owen, Associate Editor
Instructor (magazine)
Dansville, New York

NOTES: Please know that your words are being heard more and more, and I really feel that someday through your own great efforts you may begin to see many changes for the good of all your people. It will never rectify or diminish the terrible wrongs of the past, but it may make the future brighter for your children.

Barbara Stringfellow
Medford Lakes, New Jersey

FRIENDS: I wanted to tell you how impressed I am with the "This is Our Land' calendar. Through it, I think that I can better understand the struggle of my people. I want to thank you for giving me another means of educating myself.

Theo Ann Tatum
Raytown, Missouri

NOTES: I am part Seneca and I have heard there are other Iroquois living here in Maryland. I would like to get in touch with some of my people.

I am a member of a group called Trail of Tears and we have formed a coalition with other minority groups to try to effect some changes in Baltimore as a group. We would like to get the support and help from Indian peoples we are not yet in contact with in Maryland.

John Moore
1213 W. Northern Parkway
Baltimore, Maryland 21209

NOTES: These days, television portrays us as an unwittingly victimized, naive, and "primitively" angry subculture. Not only are we frustrated and infuriated, we're bored with this asinine view of our people. So are the people who watch TV.

The Native Council of Canada proposes developing a big, lively, funny, melodious television special to express the vitality, the humour, and the optimism of our people. Ninety minutes or an hour of our best comedy, story-telling, music, satire, drama, dance, poetry, and vibrantly filmed real-life "success" stories.

We know we, the Native People, have the talent and vitality needed for such a production. Help us, help yourself. Let us know with tapes, photos, stories, letters, in any way you can, who the best of your singers, dancers, musicians, artists, and story-tellers are.

Please send your thoughts, wishes, and dreams – things you want all Canadians to hear and see – to the Council.

Tony Belcourt, President
Native Council of Canada
77 Metcalfe St. †1010
Ottawa, Canada K1P 5L6

We are saddened by the death of Alex Baclawski, also known as Tall Red Oak, of Meriden, Connecticut. For years he operated the American Indian Tobacco Enterprises until last summer, when he turned the business over to AKWESASNE NOTES to aid the survival of this newspaper and traditional land and life. Then, suddenly, he passed into the Spirit World this June. To his family and his friends, we extend our condolences. As for ourselves, his generosity and many kindnesses will not soon be forgotten.

NOTES: I've kept the paper around the office for the last few days and it has been devoured by my co-workers. My black friends think NOTES is a right-on publication. The reactions of my white friends was most surprising – without exception, those who read my copy of NOTES reacted with genuine horror upon being confronted with the facts.

It would seem our greatest enemy is ignorance – and I have also noted that many people who are ordinarily against any sort of militant action haven't said a word against the occupation of Wounded Knee. Could it be that some of us are outgrowing John Wayne?

Monica Saier-Coticelli
Brooklyn, New York

NOTES: I am Chippewa, and I am writing for information concerning an Indian scholarship. I wish to get a college education. How do I apply for one?

Carol Osborne
Cleveland, Ohio

(Native people wanting scholarship help, and assistance with admission to a college, counselling, etc., should contact Tillie Walker, United Scholarship Service, Box 18285, Capital Hill Station Denver Colorado 80218. This is an Indian clearinghouse for information and help. Also, church groups, civic groups, tribal councils, state agencies, colleges, and foundations should contact United Scholarship Service about pooling funds and resources to strengthen their service. The Editors.)

NOTES: For almost two years now I have been working as the outside sponsor for the Leavenworth Penitentiary North American Indian Culture Group. AKWESASNE NOTES is read avidly by most of the members of the Group, and when the White Roots of Peace travelling group visited us this past fall, it was a time of real uplift and encouragement for all who were there.

Recently a group of students at Haskell Indian Junior College raised $100 to buy books concerning Indian culture for the Leavenworth group. We understand that White Roots of Peace will match that with another hundred dollars worth of books for the penitentiary group.

Ralph Earles
Lawrence, Kansas

(Readers can help us continue to send quantities of books to native peoples in prisons by sending contributions for that purpose each time they order books. The Editors.)

NOTES: The reports of my death have been greatly exaggerated.

The Great Spirit

NOTES: Please allow us to apologise to Dewasenta, Kanatakeniate, and Sawatis and, indeed, to all Onkweonwe and to all white friends of the Native People for the stupid arrogance and insulting behaviour of the Crown authorities in Britain in not honouring their Iroquois Confederacy passports in London and Hong Kong. We only learned of this through reading NOTES as it went unreported in the censored British Press and other media.

We, the true friends and allies of the Native People, are deeply shamed and saddened by this latest action of an insecure and out-of-date racist regime and by a further abrogation of the Two-Row Wampum Treaty.

It is our sincere wish that you will continue to think of us kindly, and know that we still grasp firmly our end of the covenant chain of friendship, peace, and the rape of our mother, the Earth. On behalf of Sue, Linda, John, Priscilla, Nigel, Mik and many others here, I wish you all ne Skennen, ne Kariwiio, ne Kasatstensera. Please, come again. Live in peace & health. Onen.

Jack Hayes
Dovercourt
Essex, England

TO THE PEOPLE OF AKWESASNE: We write this letter to the People of Akwesasne who participated in an event, or helped to make it possible, which made Akwesasne known and famous in many places in the world. It was not only the AKWESASNE NOTES, but the way of life and cooperation too, which gained more and more meaning to many people of the world; which became an example and a hope to do sometime a similar thing, an example o fwhat can be done through human commitment, through love without violence. It's not a single hero – it is the people, working there together and what they have accomplished, which has gained importance and has made Akwesasne within a short time an outstanding place in the world. But glory and Greatness is something hard to carry – not everybody is able to stand ingenuity.

It demands character to stand ingenuity – of single people and of nations. Some have it, some have it not. It is a proverb that the genius of a single person, or as in Akwesasne, of a whole group – often is not recognized by its own people. There are examples of this in history like that of Deganawidah, the well-known example of the Jewish people, or the Hopi of Hotevilla, which show what might happen to nations that cannot stand ingenuity and what can be done by people who accept their genius.

So we write this letter to some people, too, who might not yet have understood, that the place they are living in is no longer unknown; that it has grown to something outstanding which acquires attention. Some people seemingly feel uneasy about it. They may consider the fate of nations that were not able to endure their own genius, which can be learned from history. Maybe it might help some, who have not yet understood, to think it over after all.

Waltraud Wagner
Arbeitsgruppe fur Nordamerikanische Indianer
4351 Henrichenburg
Becklemer Strabe 38, Germany

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: The Vietnam Peace Parade Committee was one of the first anti-Vietnam War organizations to spring up in New York, in 1965. We are still concentrating on Vietnam, but are slowly but surely moving into many other fields, which we feel are related to what the U.S. government did in Indochina.

We view the treatment of Native Americans by this country as a very powerful instance of genocide, repression, and deception. We understand that neither Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia nor Wounded Knee of 1890 or 1973 are accidental and isolated moments of policy, but rather are the logical extension of the consistent plunder of land and minerals, and the colonial enslavement of peoples.

We understand that the destruction which the U.S. government attempted of the culture of the Vietnamese was also attempted earlier with regard to the American Indians.

Several days ago, when it seemed that the Federal forces out at Wounded Knee were ready to go in and kill, we organized for four hours a street demonstration in Times Square. We called many newspapers, radio, and TV stations. We passed out leaflets on the streets and on the campuses. We made calls to the White House, Justice Department and Secretary of the Interior. We asked everyone to call them too.

Regardless of what may or may not happen at Wounded Knee, we feel that it is essential for as much of the anti-war Movement as possible to support the demands of Native Americans and to do their utmost to assist them in the struggle.

Leonard Brown

Carleton Power was known to us as a sincere friend, and as the husband of Susan Power, now living in Chicago, of the Standing Rock Sioux. Carleton helped NOTES develop contacts in the publishing industry, and extended his hospitality and support often. He must have had many friends in the Chicago area, too, for when he suddenly passed into the Spirit World this spring, he was mourned and buried in the traditional way, in rites conducted by a medicine lodge – a well-deserved although unusual honor for a "white man" at a time when many native peoples are forsaking their own ceremonials. To his family and many friends, we set out these words:

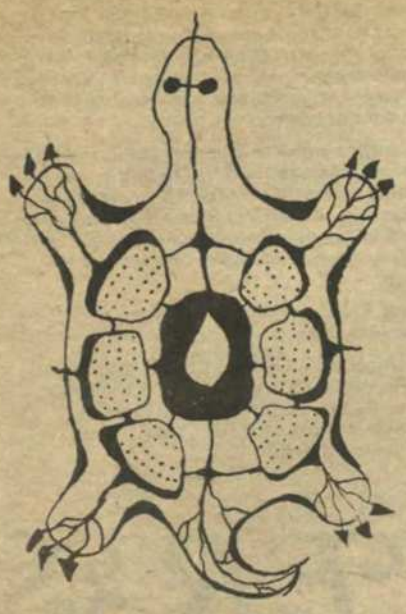
When I am dead
Cry for me a little.
Think of me sometimes
But not too much.

It is not good for you
Or your wife or your husband
Or your children
To allow your thoughts to dwell
Too long on the dead.

Think of me now and again
As I was in life
At some moment
It is pleasant to recall.

But not for long.

Leave me in peace
And I shall leave you too, in peace.
While you live,
Let Your Thoughts be with the Living.



TURTLE

The winds are dark passages among the stars,
leading to whirling void pockets
encircled by seeds of thought,
life force of the Creation.
I am turtle,
and slowly, my great flippers move
propelling my body through space,
and starflowers scatter crystals
which fall as mist upon my lidded eyes.
I am turtle,
and the ocean of my life swim
is a single chant in the Creation,
as I pass others of my kind,
my own, unborn, and those,
the holy ancients of my childhood.

My swim is steady and untiring
for great is the burden given me,
the praise and privilege of my eternity
rests upon my back as a single seed
to which I am guardian and giver.
I am turtle,
and my tribes forever remain countless,
from the day I first raised my head
to gaze back upon the horn of my body,
and my head was a sun,
and Creation breathed life upon the seed
and four times, and again four times,
I wept for joy the birthing of my tribes,
and chanted Creation the glory
of all these wonderous days.

The wrinkles and cracks upon this ancient shell
are the natural contours created
by the feel and request of burdened rock
and soil, blood and sustenance to
clans within clans,
I am turtle,
and the earth I carry is but
a particle in the greater Creation,
my mountains, plains and oceans,
mere reflections in a vaster sea.
Turtle, I am called,
and breathe clouds of rain,
and turn slowly my body to seasons
in cycle with my grandchild, Eagle,
whose wings enfold thunder pulses,
back to back, and
seldom meeting in time.

Patience was given me by Creation,
ancient song on tomorrow's wind,
this chant that was taught my tribes
is now unsung by many clans
of a single tribe,
and truly
such pains that exist for this moment,
which slay so many of the innocent
cannot but end in pain repreated
as all are reflected twins to self.
I am turtle,
and await the council of my tribes,
clan into clan, the merging thought
that evil was never the star path, and
then the chant to the four directions,
I am turtle,
and death is not yet my robe,
for drums still throb the many
centers of my tribes, and a young
child smiles me of tomorrow,
"and grandparent,"
another child whispers, "please,
tell again my clan's beginning."

blue cloud
spring, 1973

WHERE IS ECUADOR?

I am so lost
I am Indian
I am so lost
I am mestizo
I am so lost
I am blanco
I am so lost
I am foreign
I am so lost
I am govt
I am so lost
I am tierra
I am so lost
I am sky

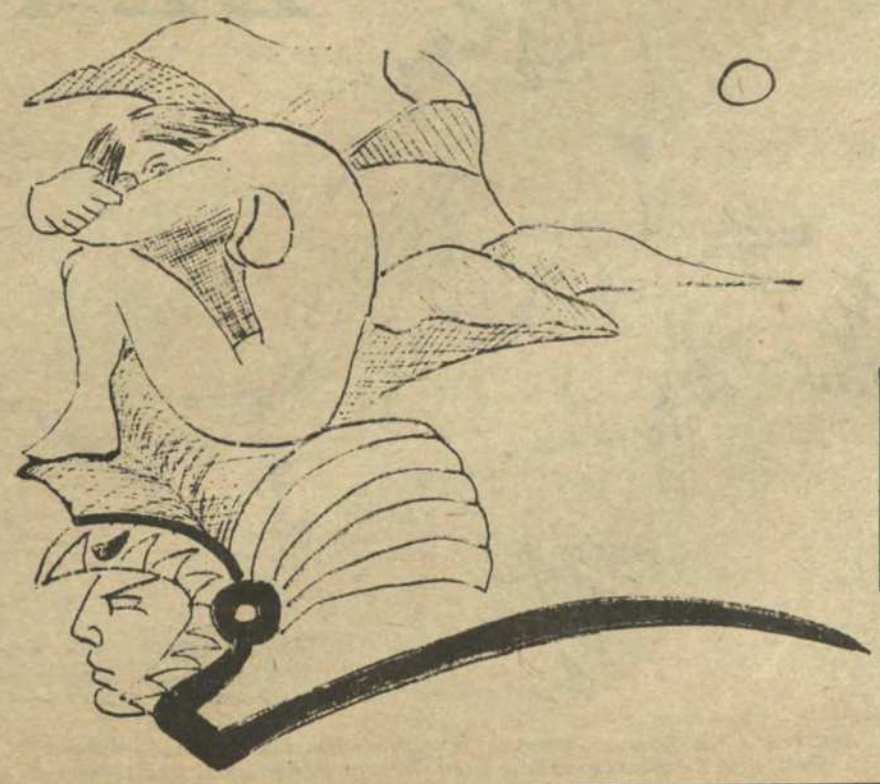
Unchanging
Unchanging
I go on
so lost

CHIMBORAZO

Wheezing mules
loaded with ice, Indians
cursing their beasts
all to make cold
softdrinks
in Riobamba. Couple
loads takes
a few days

They cut slabs of it
from the mtn.
Maybe make enough
to eat for
one more week
cutting it close
life on the
slopes.

Patron
Hacienda
Peon



At the end of the day
I am all worn out
can't see straight
I come home

Fire's going out
dogs are dying
not enough to eat
everything is
spoiled

Sometimes I am glad
I can't see straight

My house so cold and damp
My wife's back bent
My son fined two days extra work
for 'stealing' firewood
in the canyons on
hacienda land

The babies cry all at once
What can I do?
What can we do?
Got to eat
No seed to plow
My animals have sores

Can I help them?
Who can help me?
O taita Dios
O taita Dios

Relieve me
from this
spell.

THREE VERSES FROM ECUADOR BY BRANDI

THE RED RIVER, NORTH DAKOTA

i rode a few miles
wyoming prairie
my cousin cheman
he say
glen don't marry
til you find indian gal
carry the burden
of a broken heart

got the cost of phone call
long distance
prairie
north dakota
cousin on bad wire
he say
i'll know you soon
he say
come home cousin
the plains are on fire
in june
red is the color of the
banks of the river
and it will stop
your heart
if you can't go on . . .
you can go on
go on cousin
go on

cheman
he sleep
cree indian
wyoming
far from home
wrapped in
a navajo rug
sleeping on the edge
of arapaho country
he talk
his language
in his sleep
and
the river is deep
red is the color of the
banks of the river and
it will stop your heart
if you can't go on . . .
we can go on
go on cousins
go on

cheman &
glen fontaine

rivers flow, where do they go
they follow night into the dawn
and then flow on
strong winds blow, where do they go
they return to the mountain crest
to her silver caves of rest
the winds of the west

follow me to the mountain side
come to mother earth
lay your ear on soft red soil
and you will hear the secret of birth

grasses grow, where do they go
they follow light into the sun
and then grow on
fires glow, where do they go
they return to the mountain's feast
in ashen caves they are released
they burn to the east

follow me to the mountain side
come to mother earth
lay your ear on soft, red soil
and you will hear the secret of birth

all things flow, where do they go
they enter where the circles turn
all things return
people come, people go
all searching for a place to hide
they journey to the mountain side
she opens wide

follow me to the mountain side
come to mother earth
lay your ear on soft, red soil
and you will hear the secret of birth

– susan shown

THE MANIAC

he gives thanks
he creates nothing
for all is there
for all to share
he lets things go
he creates nothing
for Creation
still goes on . . .
for he is
Creation

the People sing
the fires are made
& smoke walks
along the heavens . . .
only the spirit
you make upon this earth

look into the sun . . .
he knows what he will see
he knows the power
feels the power
& giving thanks is all
that's left to do
while you, quite sane
are blinded by your
ignorance of things Real

the People sing
the fires are made
& smoke walks
along the heavens
only the spirit
you make upon this earth
only the spirit
you make upon this earth

karoniaktatie
spring '73